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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND

VOL. IV

THE

History of England

FROM THE FIRST INVASION BY THE ROMANS
TO THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM
AND MARY IN 1688

BY

JOHN LINGARD, D.D.

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THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY VI.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emp. of Germ.	*K. of Scotland.*	*K. of France.*	*K. of Spain.*
Sigismund ... 1437	James I..... 1437	Charles VI... 1422	John II..... 1454
Albert..... 1439	James II..... 1460	Charles VII.	Henry IV.
Frederic III.	James III.		

Popes.

Martin V. 1431. Eugenius IV. 1447. Nicholas V. 1455.
Calixtus III. 1458. Pius II.

GOVERNMENT DURING THE MINORITY—DUKE OF BEDFORD REGENT OF FRANCE—JACQUELINE OF BAVARIA—SIEGE OF ORLEANS—JOAN OF ARC—CHARLES IS CROWNED AT RHEIMS—HENRY AT PARIS—DEFECTION OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY—ARMISTICE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE—DISPUTES IN THE ENGLISH CABINET—THE KING'S MARRIAGE—DEATHS OF GLOUCESTER AND BEAUFORT—LOSS OF THE FRENCH PROVINCES—IMPEACHMENT AND MURDER OF SUFFOLK—CADE'S INSURRECTION—DUKE OF YORK PROTECTOR—HENRY RECOVERS HIS AUTHORITY—DISASTERS OF THE YORKISTS—THEIR SUBSEQUENT SUCCESS—THE DUKE IS DECLARED HEIR TO THE THRONE—IS KILLED AT WAKEFIELD—HIS SON EDWARD ENTERS LONDON—AND IS PROCLAIMED KING.

THE French throne was preserved from ruin by the premature death of Henry V. The task of maintaining the ascendancy which he had gained devolved on an infant successor and a divided ministry; while the

CHAP. I. A.D. 1422.

dauphin in the vigour of youth, and seconded by the wishes of the people, called the different factions under his banner, and directed their combined efforts against the invaders of their country. We shall see that prince recover in the course of a few years the crown of his ancestors, expel the English from their conquests, and seal a long series of success with the subjugation of Gascony, the last fragment of the ancient patrimony belonging to the English monarchs in France.

The new king, the son of Henry and Catherine, was hardly nine months old. On the first advice of his father's decease, several spiritual and temporal peers, chiefly members of the old council, assembled at Westminster, issued commissions in the name of Henry VI. to the judges, sheriffs, and other officers, to continue in the exercise of their respective duties, and summoned a parliament to meet in the beginning of

Nov

November. On the previous day a commission to open, conduct, and dissolve the parliament in the king's name, *with the consent of the council*, was offered by a meeting of peers to the duke of Gloucester. He objected to the words, *with the consent of the council*, that they were prejudicial to his right, that they made him the servant of the council; and that they had never been introduced into similar commissions under his late brother. It was replied, that the present king was an infant, and therefore without these words, or others equivalent, no man could act legally and safely. Each lord in his turn gave this opinion, and the duke was fain to submit.[1] The parliament was

[1] Acts of Coun. iii. 6. Rym. x. 257. De assensu concilii nostri. These words are so placed that they may refer to the appointment of the duke by the king, or to the exercise of office by the duke.

opened by him in the usual form. The first care of that assembly was to ratify all the acts of the authority by which it had been convened, as sufficiently justified by the necessity of the case;[1] its second, to supply the defect in the exercise of the royal authority arising from the infancy of the king. The two last centuries furnished three instances of minorities: at the accession of Henry III., Edward III., and Richard II. But on none of these occasions had the powers of the executive government been intrusted to a guardian or regent, if we except the two first years of Henry III., when the appointment of such an officer was deemed requisite to oppose the pretensions of a foreign competitor at the head of a powerful army, and in possession of the capital. The duke of Gloucester, however, notwithstanding the decision of the preceding day, preferred a claim to the regency on two grounds; because in the absence of the duke of Bedford he was the nearest of kin to his nephew, and because the late king, when he lay on his death-bed, had appointed him to that charge. The lords (for such matters did not appertain to the cognizance of the commons) having searched the Rolls, and consulted the judges, replied: that his demand was not founded either on law or precedent, but was contrary to the constitution of the realm and the rights of the three estates; and that the appointment of the late king was of no force, because he could not alter the law of the land without the three estates, nor delegate the authority, which expired with his life, to be exercised by another after his death. To satisfy him, however, as far as was in their power, they would appoint him president of the

The first is the more natural construction; but in this debate both parties seem to have adopted the second. [1] Rot. Parl. iv. 170.

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council, in the absence of his brother the duke of Bedford, not with the title of regent, lieutenant, governor, or tutor, words which might be construed to import a delegation of the sovereign authority, but with that of "protector of the realm and church "of England;" an appellation which could serve only to remind him of his duty.[1] Acting on these principles they named the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, and sixteen members of the council with the duke of Bedford, and in his absence, the duke of Gloucester, for president; and by a deputation notified these nominations to the commons, who gave their assent.[2] Regulations were then enacted for the direction of the council, the duties on wool with the tonnage and poundage were continued for two years, and the parliament was dissolved.[3] England presented no cause of uneasiness, but every eye was most anxiously turned towards France.

Dec. 5.

Dec. 18.

[1] Rot. Parl. iv. 326.

[2] Ibid. iv. 174, 175, 326. Their salaries were as follows:—

	£.	s.	d.
To the protector, per annum	5,333	6	8
dukes and archbishops	200	0	0
bishops and earls	133	6	8
barons and bannerets	100	0	0
esquires	30	0	0

The bishop of Winchester, when he was chancellor, received the same as an archbishop, and the lord Stafford, as treasurer, the same as an earl.—Rot. Parl. v. 404. Rym. x. 268, 359, 360. This difference in the amount seems to have been regulated by the establishment which each was obliged to maintain in proportion to his rank.

[3] Ibid. iv. 175. After the dissolution of the parliament the judges, by order of the council, separated those acts which regarded the constitution and conduct of the council, and the administration of the royal authority, from the others which had for their object the usual matters of national legislation. Both were to be enrolled in chancery according to custom; but of the first copies were to be made, and lodged with the clerk of the council only; the second were to be put in proper form for proclamation, that they might be published like other statutes.—Acts of Coun. iii. 22. The fact is, the lords con-

CHAP. I. A.D. 1422

The regency of that kingdom had, according to Henry's last injunctions, been offered to the duke of Burgundy, and on his refusal was given to the duke of Bedford by Charles, with the advice of his council. But Charles survived this transaction only a few days and his death gave to the English interest a shock from which it never recovered. Many of the French nobility had adhered to Henry out of deference to the will of their sovereign; but when this check was removed, their affection, and with it their obedience, reverted to the dauphin, the real representative of their native nonarchs. That prince was not slow to profit by the event. On the first day after he had received the news of his father's death he wore mourning; on the second he assumed the insignia of royalty with the title of Charles VII. king of France. As Rheims was in the possession of his enemies, he was anointed and crowned at Chartres. The ceremony operated as a charm, and drew multitudes to his standard.[1]

Oct. 22.

On the other side the regent, a prince not inferior to his late brother in abilities, superior in the more amiable qualities of the heart, did not neglect the interests of his nephew. He obtained from the duke of Burgundy the warmest assurances of support, and prevailed on the duke of Bretagne to signify his approbation of the treaty of Troyes. The three princes met at Arras. They swore to love each other as brothers, to aid each other against the attacks of his enemies, to protect the poor and defenceless against

1423. April 17

sidered the first as matters with which the public had no concern. They would not allow the commons to interfere in these arrangements in parliament; nor did they think it proper to publish them for the information of the people. See the statutes that were published in Stat. of Realm, ii. 213.

[1] Monst. ii. 1.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1423.

all oppression, and to unite their efforts to remove the scourge of war from the soil of France. To cement this friendship, the dukes of Bedford and Bretagne married each a sister of the duke of Burgundy, and then separated to raise forces in support of the common cause.[1]

The Loire formed the line of demarcation between the opposite parties. To the south of that river every province, with the exception of Gascony, had espoused the cause of Charles; to the north Anjou and Maine professed to be neutral; and the garrisons of a few insulated fortresses adhered to their native prince: but the rest of the population, with the inhabitants of the capital, acknowledged the authority of the regent. It was not long before the flames of war were rekindled. The country was pillaged by both parties; towns were taken and retaken; and the fortune of the belligerents was nearly balanced by alternations of defeat and success. The most brilliant

July 31.

event in the campaign was the battle of Crevant on the Yonne. An army of French with the Scottish auxiliaries had formed the siege of that town, and to relieve it four thousand men-at-arms, under the earl of Salisbury, were ordered to join the Burgundians at Auxerre. The regulations for the combined army, before it left that city, are an interesting monument of the military discipline of the age. It was ordered that the soldiers should love and treat each other as brothers; that the vanguard should consist of one hundred and twenty men-at-arms, with the same number of archers taken in equal portions from each nation; that when orders were given to dismount in the presence of the enemy, disobedience should be

[1] Rym. x. 280.

punished with instant death; that all the horses should be conducted half a league into the rear, and such as were found within that space should be forfeited; that if any man should leave his station in the line, he should suffer death; that no prisoners should be made till the victory was certain, under the penalty of the death of the prisoner, and also of the captor, if he offered resistance; that every archer should be furnished with a long pole sharpened at both extremities; and that each man should carry with him provisions for two days.[1] The enemy occupied an eminence; but were drawn from their advantageous position by the manœuvres of the allies, who dismounting from their horses, and marching on foot in their armour, attempted to make themselves masters of the bridge. For three hours the two armies stood facing each other divided only by the river; at length the English forced their way to the opposite bank, and were followed by the Burgundians. The Scots, who bore the brunt of the battle, were almost annihilated; and the French suffered severely from the garrison, which assaulted them in the rear. The victors entered the place in triumph, carrying with them the French and Scottish commanders, each of whom, after losing an eye in the contest, had been made prisoner.[2]

This defeat threw a gloom over the prospects of Charles; but it was quickly removed by the arrival of powerful reinforcements from Italy and Scotland. The duke of Milan sent to his assistance a numerous body of Lombards; and the earl of Douglas landed in

[1] Monstrel. ii. 7.

[2] The French commander was the count of Ventadour, the Scottish the earl of Buchan, or Stuart of Darnley. Both were afterwards ransomed.—Monstrel. ii. 8. Ford. xvi. 25. Hall, f. 85.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1423.

the port of Rochelle with five thousand men. The king, in testimony of his confidence and gratitude, selected his body-guard from the Scottish auxiliaries; and, as he had already granted to Stuart of Darnley the French lordships of Aubigny and Concressault, he gave to Douglas the still more valuable dukedom

March 25. of Tourraine, which had belonged to himself before his accession. The duke of Albany, the regent of Scot-

April 19. land, and the Scottish nobility, swore in the presence of the French ambassador to maintain the ancient

Oct. 8. alliance between the two countries, and promised,

Oct. 16. what it was not in their power to enforce, that their

Oct. 26. king, in the event of his liberation, should ratify their engagements.[1]

The necessity of interrupting the harmony between France and Scotland had now become evident; and with this view the English council proposed to King James to treat with him respecting his release from captivity. The offer was joyfully accepted; the Scottish envoys were permitted to join their sovereign; and after much negotiation it was mutually agreed, that the king should be set at liberty, and that in return he should forbid his subjects to enter into the

1423. Sept. 10. service of France;[2] should pay by instalments, in six years, the sum of forty thousand pounds, as a com-

Sept. 24. pensation for his expenses during the time of his detention;[3] and should give hostages as a security till

[1] Du Tillet, 135, 136. Douglas was made the king's lieutenant and commander of the French armies, Apr. 19. 1424. In the Archives de France, Cartons k. 90—998, are numbers of letters of naturalization granted to Scottish archers of the royal guard from this time down to 1474.

[2] As James could not enforce the return of the Scots already in France, they were excepted from the benefit of the treaty.—Rym. x. 331.

[3] The maintenance of James had been fixed by Henry V. at

the whole of the money were paid. To attach the Scottish prince more firmly to the interests of England, it was wished to marry him to an English princess; and the ambassadors were instructed to entertain the subject, if it were opened by the Scots, but not to be the first to suggest it, "because, by the custom of "England, it did not become the lady to be the "suitor." It was not, however, necessary to urge the willing mind of James by political motives. His affections were already engaged by a beautiful and accomplished woman, Jane, descended by her father, the earl of Somerset, from Edward III., and by her mother, Margaret Holand, from Edward I. He married her before his departure; and the protector, to express his satisfaction, remitted, with the consent of the council, a sixth part of the sum stipulated to be paid by the treaty.[1] The event showed that an English education of nineteen years had not rendered James less fit to wear the crown of Scotland. He proved, as a monarch, a blessing to his country; but though he laboured to fulfil the conditions on which he had been liberated, his revenue had been so impaired by the regents, and his people appeared so unwilling to submit to taxation, that he was never able to discharge one-third part of the debt.[2]

A.D. 1423.

1424. Feb. 13.

700*l.* per annum; which in nineteen years would amount to 13,000*l.* There can be no doubt that of late his expenses had considerably increased.—See Rym. x. 293, 296. But it is probable that so large a sum was demanded under that pretence, because it could not decently be claimed as a ransom. The English commissioners had private instructions to acept of 36,000*l.*, if the Scots objected to 40,000*l.*—Id. x. 295.

[1] Rym. x. 323.

[2] If we may believe Holinshed (p. 587), and Hall (f. 86), James, before his departure, did homage to the young Henry at Windsor, and swore fealty in these words: "I, James Stuart, king of Scotland, "shall be true and faithful unto you, lord Henry, by the grace of

CHAP. I. A.D. 1424.

In France the campaign of the present year was chequered with the same variety of events which marked that of the last. Arthur, brother to the duke of Bretagne, and several Burgundian lords, passed over to the service of Charles; his partisans surprised Compeigne and Crotoi; and the garrison of Ivri, consisting of Bretons, received and unfurled his standard. On the other hand, the duke of Bedford procured a reinforcement from England, recovered Compeigne and Crotoi, and with two thousand men-at-arms, and seven thousand archers, laid siege to Ivri. A French army of eighteen thousand men, under the duke of Alençon, approached to relieve that fortress; but despairing of success, abandoned it to its fate, and surprised Verneuil. The duke leaving a garrison to secure his conquest, marched to seek the enemy, who boldly came forward to meet him. The men-at-arms were arrayed in one compact mass; in front and on each flank was stationed a body of archers protected as usual by long stakes fixed in the ground; and in the rear were collected the baggage, servants, and horses of the army, under the protection of two thousand archers, who, to oppose the irruption of the enemy, had tied the horses to each other, both by their bridles and tails, and intermixed them with the carriages in such a manner as to form an almost impenetrable rampart. The shock of the two armies

August 17.

"God king of England and France, the noble and superior lord of "the kingdom of Scotland, which I hold and claim of you. And "I shall bear you faith and fidelity, &c." This we are told was done before three dukes, two archbishops, twelve earls, ten bishops, twenty barons, and 200 knights, and yet there can be little doubt that it is a mistake. For in all the public records James is treated not as a vassal but an independent sovereign; and Henry in a private letter styles him :—Rizt heigh and myghty prince by the grace of God kyng of Scotes.—Rym. x. 635.

is described as dreadful. They fought hand to hand, and with such resolution, that for near an hour neither party seemed to gain any advantage. In the hottest of the battle a body of French and Italian cavalry, instructed to annoy the rear of the English, endeavoured to charge through the horses and baggage; but, unable to force their way, or to disentangle themselves, they stood exposed to the arrows of the archers, who, after they had slain or repelled the assailants, turned towards the front, and with a loud shout rushed on the enemy. This manœuvre decided the action. The courage of the French sank; their front was pierced in different points; and the plain was soon covered with fugitives and pursuers. According to the account of the enemy, they lost above three thousand men, the English sixteen hundred. The Scots were so reduced that they never afterwards formed a distinct corps in the French army. The new duke of Tourraine, and the earl of Buchan, were left on the field; the duke of Alençon, and two hundred gentlemen, were made prisoners. The regent immediately called his officers around him, and returned thanks to God on the field of battle.[1]

Hitherto the duke of Bedford had supported the honour of the English army, and displayed talents equal to the difficult situation in which he was placed. But in every measure he had the misfortune to be thwarted by the private ambition of his brother the duke of Gloucester. Jacqueline of Bavaria, heiress of Hainault, Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland, had for her first husband John, dauphin of France. After his death, Henry V. offered his mediation to compose the difference between the widow and her uncle, and

[1] Monstrel. ii. 15.

CHAP I. A.D. 1417.

improved the opportunity to solicit her hand for his brother of Bedford. But Jacqueline, by persuasion of her mother, preferred John, duke of Brabant, a boy

1418.

in his sixteenth year. Their union was unhappy. He was passionate and capricious; she proud and revengeful. The duke dismissed the ladies and servants whom his wife had brought with her from Holland; his favourites in return were soon afterwards massacred in an insurrection of the people. At length she separated from him, repaired to her mother at Valenciennes, eloped from Valenciennes and sought an asylum in

1421. July.

England, where she was received with welcome, and obtained from the king a pension of one hundred pounds a month.[1] The duke of Gloucester became enamoured with her charms, perhaps still more with her inheritance. But Henry, who saw that a marriage between them would be followed by a rupture with the duke of Burgundy, cousin-german and apparent heir to Jacqueline's husband, restrained the imprudence of his brother, and on his death-bed inculcated with extraordinary earnestness the necessity of making every sacrifice to preserve the friendship of his ally. Gloucester was too headstrong to regard the advice of the king, or to yield to the remonstrances of the council. Maintaining that the marriage of Jacqueline with the duke of Brabant was void, on account of consanguinity, though a dispensation had been obtained from the council of Constance, he married her himself, and immediately laid claim to her dominions. Had her husband been left to his own decision, he

1424.

might probably have yielded; but the duke of Burgundy espoused his cause, and declared that he would oppose force to force in his behalf. It was in vain

[1] Monstrel. i. 267, 299, 303. Pell Records, 368.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1424.

that the regent employed all his influence to prevail on his brother to withdraw a demand, which would alienate the Burgundian from the interests of England, and might ultimately throw him into the arms of Charles. As a last resource, in a great council at Paris, it was determined that the legitimacy of the two marriages should be referred to the pope, and that all parties should await his decision. The duke of Brabant acquiesced; the duke of Gloucester refused. He was already at Calais with Jacqueline and an army of five thousand men, and proceeding into Hainault, immediately obtained possession of the county in right of his pretended wife. The duke of Burgundy on this intelligence sent forces to the aid of his cousin; insulting messages passed between him and Gloucester; a challenge was given and accepted;[1] and the two combatants agreed to decide their quarrel on the feast of St. George in the presence of the duke of Bedford, the regent. In the interval the Burgundian recalled his forces, and Gloucester prepared to return to England. Notwithstanding the objections of Jacqueline, it was resolved, at the request of the inhabitants, that she should remain at Mons. She parted from the duke with tears, predicting the evils which would result from their separation. The Brabanters renewed the war; the towns of Hainault returned to the obedience of the duke; and Jacqueline was delivered to the Burgundians to be detained a captive till the see of Rome should

Oct. 24.

Dec. 20.

1425. March 3.

March 16.

[1] On this occasion the duke of Burgundy paid a high compliment to the duke of Bedford. Si mieux vous plait, he says to his antagonist, je suis content, que nous prenons a juge mon tres cher et aimé cousin, et aussi votre beau frere le Regent duc de Bethfort—car il est tel prince que je scay, qu'a vous et a moy, et a tous autres il voudroit estre droiturier juge.—Monst. ii. 20.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1425.

pronounce on the validity of her marriage. The intended duel between the two princes was never fought. In a letter to the duke of Gloucester, the pontiff declared him excommunicated, if he persisted in putting his design in execution; and by a circular brief directed to all the Christian princes in Europe, exhorted them not to permit the combat within their respective dominions. The English parliament, seconding his views, recommended that the dowager queens of France and England, with the regent, should take the quarrel into their hands; and in a council held at Paris, it was decided that the challenge had been given without sufficient cause.[1] In the mean time Jacqueline was conducted by the prince of Orange to Ghent, where she bore her confinement with impatience, and exerted all her ingenuity to contrive her escape. At length she dressed herself and her female attendant in male attire, mounted a horse, rode unobserved in the dusk of the evening out of one of the gates, and continued her flight till she reached in safety the borders of Holland, where she was joyfully received by her subjects. The Burgundians pursued her thither; and Holland became for two years the theatre of war. The duke of Gloucester sent her five hundred men-at-arms, and was severely reprimanded by the council; he renewed the attempt; but was prevented by his brother, the regent.[2] In 1426 the pope is said to have pronounced in favour of the first marriage;[3] but the duke of Brabant died

July.

Sept. 1.

[1] Ep. Mart. V. apud Raynald. vi. 75. Rot. Parl. iv. 277.

[2] Monstrel. ii. 18—29.

[3] This is said by different writers. If it were true, I know not how the English government could, consistently with the agreement at Paris, continue to acknowledge her for duchess of Gloucester.

soon afterwards, and Jacqueline assumed the title of duchess of Gloucester. The slender aid which she received from England served to defer her submission till 1428, when she was compelled to appoint the duke of Burgundy her heir, to allow him to garrison her fortresses, and to give her word that she would never marry without his consent.[1] In the terms of this treaty she virtually acknowledged that she was not the wife of the duke of Gloucester; and yet, only a few weeks before it was concluded, her interests had been espoused in England by a party of females against the neglect of her supposed husband. A lady of the name of Stokes, attended by the wives of the principal citizens of London, went to the house of lords, and presented a petition against the duke, accusing him of having neglected his lawful wife, the duchess Jacqueline, and of living in open adultery with Eleanor Cobham,[2] daughter of Reginald Lord Cobham of Sterborough. The beauty of Eleanor was as distinguished as her morals were dissolute. After contributing to the pleasures of different noblemen, she became acquainted with the duke, whose attachment to her was so great, that even after his union with Jacqueline, he kept her always near his person, and took her with him in his expedition to Hainault.[3] What answer was returned to the petition of these female champions in the cause of conjugal fidelity, is not known; but the duke soon afterwards, to the

CHAP. I. A.D. 1425

1428.

Yet she is so called in two different instruments in Rymer, dated in 1427 and 1428 (Rym. x. 375, 398), and in the address of the commons of 1427. (Rot. Parl. iv. 318).

[1] Monstrel. ii. 37. Meyer, lib. xv. p. 310. [2] Stow, 369.

[3] Laquelle le dit duc par avant avoit tenue en sa compagnie certain temps, comme sa dame par amours: et avec ce avoit este diffamee de aucuns autres hommes que de icelui duc.—Monstrel. ii. 32. Also ii. 29.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1428.

surprise of Europe, publicly acknowledged Cobham for his wife; and Jacqueline, in breach of her promise to her adversary, married a gentleman called Frank of Bursellen. He was immediately seized by the Burgundians, and his wife, to purchase his liberty, ceded the greater part of her dominions, retaining only an annual rent for her own support. She died without issue in 1436.[1]

October 8.

Had it not been for this unfortunate attempt of Gloucester to obtain the inheritance of Jacqueline, it was pretended that the party of Charles might have been effectually crushed after the battle of Verneuil. But to protect the interests of the duke of Brabant, the duke of Burgundy withdrew his forces from the scene of action, and employed them in Hainault and Holland; and the duke of Bedford, reduced to depend on his own resources, became unable to improve the advantages which he had gained. For three years the war in France was suffered to languish; and the operations on both sides were confined to skirmishes and sieges, unimportant in their consequences to the two parties, but most disastrous to the unfortunate inhabitants. If the regent was inactive through weakness, Charles was equally so through poverty; and if the court of the latter became a scene of intrigue, dissension, and bloodshed, the council of the king of England was not less divided by the jealousy of its members, their quarrels, and their opposite interests.[2]

[1] Meyer, 329.

[2] The pontiff, as if he had foreseen the evils which followed, had on the succession of the young Henry written to the council, recommending to them above all things to live in harmony with each other, as the best means of preserving the dominions of their infant sovereign. Ad regnum hoc in rerum statu salubriter dirigendum nulla res est tantum necessaria, quantum est vestra concordia, qui reipub-

Among these the minister who bore the chief sway, both from his situation and relationship to the king, was the duke of Gloucester; but he was often, and sometimes successfully, opposed in his views by Henry Beaufort, the great bishop of Winchester. That prelate was second son to John of Ghent by Catherine Swynford, and was consequently uncle to the regent and his brother, and great-uncle to the king. From the bishopric of Lincoln he had been translated to the more valuable see of Winchester, had thrice borne the high office of chancellor, had assisted at the council of Constance, and had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. His frugality multiplied his riches; but they were rendered subservient to the interests of his country; and his loans to the late monarch amounted to twenty-eight, to the present king to more than eleven, thousand pounds.[1] He had again accepted the office of chancellor, and in that situation had strenuously opposed Gloucester's favourite plan of claiming the inheritance of Jacqueline. During the absence of that prince, the council, under the influence of the prelate, and with the view to repress the mutinous disposition of the populace, had garrisoned the Tower, and committed it to the care of Richard Wydevile, with orders "to admit no one more powerful than "himself." When Gloucester returned, he demanded lodgings in that fortress, and attributed the refusal of Wydevile to the secret instructions of his uncle. In his resentment he ordered the mayor to close the gates of the city against the bishop, and to furnish him with five hundred horsemen, that he might visit in

1424. July 16

1425. Feb. 26.

Oct. 29.

licæ præsidetis: vobis enim habentibus unam mentem, una voluntate regentibus, nulla accidere calamitas potest.—Apud Raynald. vi. 51.

[1] Rot. Parl. iv. 111, 132, 275, 277.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1425. Oct. 30.

safety the young king at Eltham. The next mornin the retainers of Beaufort attempted to burst open the gate on the bridge, barricadoed the road, placed archers in the houses on each side, and declared that, as their lord was excluded from entering the city, so they would prevent the duke from leaving it.[1] It cost the archbishop of Canterbury and the duke of Coimbra, second son of the king of Portugal by Philippa, the sister of the late monarch, eight journeys in the same day from party to party, to prevent the effusion of blood, and to induce them to keep the peace, till the return of the duke of Bedford.[2] With

Dec. 20.

reluctance the regent left Paris, landed in England, and summoned a parliament at Leicester. It was, however, his hope that a reconciliation between his brother and uncle might be effected before that meeting. With this view the archbishop and several lords waited on Gloucester, and requested him on the part

1426. Jan. 29.

of the king to attend the council at Northampton. They were instructed to represent to him that he could have no reasonable objection to meet his uncle on such an occasion; that measures would be taken to prevent any affray between their followers; that the bishop, as the accused party, had a right to be confronted with his accuser, and that the king could not be expected to deprive him of office before the

[1] See the charges of Gloucester, and the answers of the bishop in Hall, f. 94, 97.

[2] The bishop wrote on the 30th of October to the regent, requesting his immediate return: "for," he adds, "by my troth, and ye "tarry long, we shall put this land in jeopardy with a field, such a "brother ye have here; God make him a good man!" They entered the city of London together. Bedford appears to have favoured his uncle, and to have blamed his brother. When the citizens made him a present of 1,000 marks in two basins of silver gilt, he hardly thanked them.—Fabyan, 414, 415.

charge against him had been proved. But the duke's obstinacy was not to be subdued by argument, and he received a royal order to attend in his place at the approaching parliament.[1] There the commons, Feb. 28. by their speaker, conjured the regent and the lords to reconcile the duke of Gloucester with the bishop of Winchester. The former had preferred a bill of impeachment against his uncle, in which to his own grievances he added two charges, which, if we may believe him, he had received from his brother, the late king; the first, that the prelate had hired an assassin to take Henry's life while he was yet prince of Wales; the second that he had exhorted him to usurp the crown during the life of his father. In his answer, Beaufort endeavoured to show that, if he had given personal offence to the duke, yet his conduct was justified by the behaviour of that prince; and to the charges said to have been made by Henry V., he opposed the confidence and employments with which that king had honoured the man, who was now accused on his pretended testimony of having attempted his life. The duke of Bedford and the March 4. other lords took an oath to judge with impartiality; but in what manner the trial proceeded we are not informed. Three days later the duke and bishop con- March 7. sented to leave their quarrel to the decision of the primate and eight other arbitrators, by whose award the following farce was enacted. Beaufort began by

[1] Acts of Coun. iii. 181—7. This parliament was called the parliament of bats. As arms had been forbidden, the servants of the members followed their lords with bats or clubs on their shoulders; when these also were forbidden, they concealed stones and plummets of lead in their sleeves and bosoms; so suspicious were they of each other.—Fab. ibid.

CHAP. I. A D. 1426.

March 12.

addressing the king, to whom he protested his innocence of the charges which respected Henry V.; and the duke of Bedford replied, in the name of the infant sovereign, that the king had no doubt of the innocence of his great-uncle, and held him to have ever been a true man to the late monarch both before and after his succession to the throne. Then turning to the duke of Gloucester, the bishop expressed his sorrow that his nephew should have conceived any displeasure against him: "but, sir," he continued, "I take God to witness, that what reports soever "have been made unto you of me, (peradventure by "such as have not had great affection unto me; God "forgive them!) I never imagined nor purposed "thing that might be hindering or prejudice to your "person, honour, or estate; and for so much I pray "you that you will be unto me good lord from this "time forth; for by my will I gave you never other "occasion, nor purpose not to do hereafter through "God's grace." The duke replied: "Fair uncle, "since you so declare you such a man as you say, "I am right glad that it is so, and for such I take "you." Each then took the other by the hand, and the ceremony was finished. Such a reconciliation could not be real; and the bishop, whether it were his own resolve, or had been previously stipulated, resigned the seals the next day, and soon afterwards

May 12.

requested permission to travel. He remained however in England till the beginning of the following year, when he accompanied his nephew, the duke of

1427. February.

Bedford, to Calais. There he received the welcome intelligence that he had been named a cardinal by

March 25.

Pope Martin, and was invested with the insignia of his

dignity in the presence of the regent and a numerous court.[1]

There is reason to believe that this quarrel between the uncle and nephew originated in the jealousy which Beaufort entertained of the ambition of the duke, who on many occasions had acted as if he were independent of the council, and to their remonstrances had replied, that he would be accountable to no man but the king, when he should come of age. Even of late he had said "Let my brother govern as him lusteth, whiles "he is in this land; after his going over into France, "I woll govern as me seemeth good." On this account the other members sent for the duke of Bedford to the star-chamber, a few days before his departure, and the next morning waited in a body on the duke of Gloucester, who was confined by sickness to his "inne." To both the chancellor made a similar address, stating that the young prince was the rightful king of England, and entitled to the obedience of all his subjects, of whatever rank they might be; that young as he was, he yet possessed by law all the authority which would belong to him at a more mature age; that, as during his infancy he could not exercise such authority, it was vested in the lords spiritual and temporal assembled in parliament, or in the great council, and, at other times, in the lords appointed to form the "continual council;" and that this council, representing the king's person, had a right to exercise the powers of government, "withouten "that any one person may or ought to ascribe to "himself the said rule and government." They concluded by begging the two dukes to inform them,

Jan. 28.

Jan. 29.

[1] See the proceedings in the Rolls of Parliament, iv. 296, 299; Rym. x. 353, 358; Fab. 416; Ellis, 2. ser. 1, 102.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1427.

whether *they* held the same sentiments. Both replied (and subscribed their replies with their own signatures) that they cheerfully assented to the principles which had been laid down, and that "in all things that "belonged to the rule of the land and the observances "of the king's laws, and to his estate, they would "be advised, demeaned, and ruled by the lords of the "council, and obey unto the king, and to them as "for the king, as lowly as the least and poorest of his "subjects." It should, however, be observed that the answer of the duke of Bedford was much more full and submissive than that of his brother; and that taking up the book of the Gospels, he solemnly swore to observe through life the promise which he then made. Gloucester did not swear.[1]

It was the sense of his own weakness, which had induced the duke of Bretagne to join the confederacy in 1423. But no sooner did he observe the seeds of dissension sown between the dukes of Burgundy and Gloucester, than he lent a more willing ear to the counsels of his brother Arthur, who had recently been appointed by the dauphin constable of France. Under different pretences, his troops were gradually withdrawn from the armies of the allies; men for the service of Charles, were enrolled within his territories; and he had made, or was said to have made, a secret promise of open co-operation, as soon as the duke of Burgundy should break the alliance with England.

The regent resolved to anticipate his intended treachery, and prevailed on the English council to declare war against him in the beginning of 1426.[2] Immediately troops from the garrisons of Normandy

Jan. 15.

[1] Rot. Parl. v. 409—411. Acts of Coun. iii. 231—242.
[2] Rym. x. 349. Acts of Coun. iii. 181.

were poured into Bretagne; the natives were defeated in several engagements; and the flames of war were spread to the very walls of Rennes. The duke in despair solicited and obtained an armistice; his apologies and offers were rejected; he tried again the fortune of war, was again unsuccessful; and at last submitted to the terms dictated by the regent. By an instrument under his seal, and those of his sons, barons, prelates, and the commonalties of his duchy, he acknowledged Henry for his rightful sovereign, and promised upon oath to observe the treaty of Troyes, to obey the commands of the regent, and to do homage for his territories to the king of England, and to no other person.[1] CHAP. I. A.D. 1427.

Five years had now elapsed since the death of the late monarch; and, if no addition had been made to his conquests, at least no considerable loss had been experienced. But at length in an evil hour it was determined to cross the Loire, and to attack Charles in the provinces which had always adhered to his cause. With this view several councils were held at Paris; the regent yielded, it is said with regret, to the majority of voices; and a resolution was taken to open the campaign with the reduction of Orleans.[2] Montague, earl of Salisbury, had lately returned from England with a reinforcement of six thousand men. After the earl of Warwick, he was the most renowned of the English commanders; and to him by common consent was intrusted the conduct of the seige. On the part of the French no preparation was omitted, 1428.

[1] Rym. x. 378, 385.

[2] In his letter to the king, the regent certainly appears to disclaim having given any approbation to the attempt. "Alle things pros-"pered for you, till the tyme of the seage of Orleans taken in hand "God knoweth by what advice."—Rot. Parl. v. 435.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1428.

no sacrifice spared to preserve the city, and annoy the aggressors. The garrison received a plentiful supply of ammunition and provisions; numerous batteries were erected on the walls; and every building within the range of the cannon was levelled to the ground.

Oct. 12. The earl having previously reduced several places in the neighbourhood, passed the Loire with ten thousand men, and established his head-quarters on the left bank amid the ruins of a convent. His first operations were directed against the Tournelles, a castle which defended the passage of the bridge. It was carried by assault; but the garrison had previously broken down one of the arches, and had built an additional work at the other extremity. A few

Oct. 23. days afterwards, as the English commander stood at a window in one of the towers of the fort, and was carefully examining the defences of the city, a shot was fired at him from the rampart. He saw the flash and attempted to withdraw; but the ball tore away the iron of the casement, and so lacerated his face,

Nov. 3. that he died in the course of the next week.[1] The command devolved on the earl of Suffolk, who received several reinforcements, and successively established his men in different posts round the city. They were lodged in huts, and covered from the fire of the besieged by intrenchments of earth. But the walls were of such extent, and the intervals between

[1] Gunpowder was now in constant use both in the attack and defence of places. The pieces were called guns and culverins. The first threw stone balls, sometimes twenty-six inches in diameter, the second threw plummets or balls of lead. The powder was of a different sort for each. The guns were worked by a master gunner with varlets under him. Masons and carpenters were attached to them. See accounts of the master of the ordnance during the war in the archives de France, 395, 421, 428, 459, 460; Acts of Council, v. 257.

these posts, which were called bastiles, were so spacious, that often in the night supplies of men and provisions forced their way into the place; for which purpose Charles had established immense magazines in the neighbouring city of Blois.[1]

The siege, or rather blockade, continued during the winter. In the beginning of Lent Sir John Falstaff left Paris with fifteen hundred men, to conduct to Orleans four hundred waggons and carts, laden with stores and provisions. He had almost reached the village of Rouvrai en Beausse, when he received the alarming intelligence that the earl of Claremont was advancing to intercept him with from four to five thousand cavalry. He halted immediately, surrounded his little army with a circle of carriages, and left but two openings, at each of which he posted a strong body of archers. It was the middle of the night; and for two hours the attack of the enemy was delayed by the disputes among their leaders. Sir John Stuart, who commanded the small remnant of the Scots in the service of Charles, earnestly contended that the men-at-arms should dismount; the earl of Claremont, by the advice of his countrymen, preferred to charge on horseback. At three in the morning it was agreed that each nation should follow its own judgment. An attempt was made to force an entrance at each opening; but the cavalry were repulsed by showers of arrows, and the Scots on foot were all slain. About six hundred dead bodies were left on the field; and Falstaff continued his march in triumph to the camp before Orleans.[2] In the spring the English re-

1429. Feb. 12.

[1] Monstrel. 38, 39.

[2] In the quaint language of the times, this was called "the battle "of herrings;" because salt herrings formed a great portion of the provisions.—Monstrel. ii 42.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1429.

sumed their operations; lines of communication were drawn from one bastile to another; and the besieged, seeing themselves invested on all sides, proposed, with the permission of Charles, to deliver the city into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, to be held by him as neutral during the war, for the benefit of the duke of Orleans, a captive in England. The regent refused the offer. It was but just, he said, that what had been won with English blood, should be the reward of English valour. In this determination the Burgundian acquiesced with apparent cheerfulness; but the refusal sank deep into his heart; nor was it forgotten on a subsequent occasion.

The fall of Orleans was now confidently anticipated; and the most gloomy apprehensions prevailed in the councils of the French monarch. Many of those who had been the warmest in their professions of attachment silently withdrew from his court; and the prince himself meditated a retreat into the distant county of Provence, perhaps into the friendly kingdom of Scotland, when the French throne was saved from ruin by the daughter of a small farmer at Domremy, a hamlet in Champagne, situate between Neufchateau and Vaucouleurs. The wonderful revolution which she accomplished by means apparently supernatural, will justify an endeavour to trace the origin and progress of the enthusiasm which, while it deluded, yet nerved and elevated the mind of this young and interesting female.[1]

Joan d'Arc was born about the year 1412. Her education did not differ from that of the other poor

[1] The narrative which follows is compiled from the answers of "the maid," and the depositions of the witnesses, which will be found in the volumes of Deseharnettes, and the tome viii. of Petitot's Mémoires.

girls in the neighbourhood; but she was distinguished above them all by her diligence, modesty, and piety. Domremy, like other villages, had its traditionary tales of wonder and supernatural agency. There stood at no great distance an old spreading beech-tree, under the branches of which the fairies were said to hold their nocturnal meetings; near its foot ran a clear streamlet, the waters of which were believed to work astonishing cures; and a little farther off was a still more sacred spot, a solitary chapel called the Hermitage of the Virgin. Joan was accustomed to visit all these places with her companions. But the hermitage was her favourite resort, where every Saturday she hung up a garland of flowers, or burnt a taper of wax in honour of the mother of Christ. These her early habits are worthy of notice, as they probably served to impress on her mind that credulous and romantic character which it afterwards exhibited. The child was fond of solitude; whatever interested her, became the subject of long and serious thought; and in these day-dreams the young enthusiast learned to invest with visible forms the creations of her own fancy. She was about twelve years old, when walking in her father's garden on a Sunday, she thought that she observed a brilliant light on one side, and heard a voice calling on her by her name. She turned, and saw, as she believed, the archangel Michael, who told her to be good, dutiful, and virtuous, and God would protect her. She felt abashed in his presence, but at his departure wept, wishing that he had taken her with him.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1429.

1424

Besides religion there was another sentiment, which sprung up in the breast of Joan. Young as she was, she had heard enough of the calamities which op-

CHAP. I. A.D. 1424.

pressed her country, to abhor the unnatural union of the Burgundians with the English, and to bewail the hard fate of her natural sovereign, driven by rebels and strangers from the throne of his fathers. The inhabitants of Domremy were royalists; those of the neighbouring village of Marcey, Burgundians; the two parties frequently met, quarrelled and fought; and these petty feuds served to rivet the attention of the girl on this most exciting subject. At length arrived the news of the disastrous battle of Verneuil. She witnessed the despair of her parents and neighbours; and learned from them, that there remained but one source of hope for her country, the possible accomplishment of a traditionary prophecy, that from Bois-chesnu, the adjoining forest of oaks, would come a maid destined to be the saviour of France.

August 17.

Such a prediction was likely to make a deep impression on the mind of Joan. One day, when she was alone, tending her father's flock, she again heard the voice, and saw the form of the archangel; but he was now accompanied by two females, the saints Catherine and Margaret, names, it should be observed, familiar to her, for they were the patronesses of the parish church. He announced to her that she was the woman pointed out by the prophecy; that hers was the important commission to conduct her sovereign to Rheims preparatory to his coronation; that with this view she ought to apply to Baudricourt, governor of Vaucouleurs, for the means of access to the royal presence; and that Catherine and Margaret would accompany her as guides and monitors, whom it was her duty to obey. It is plain that the enthusiast mistook for realities the workings of her own imagination. Even she herself, in her more sober

moments, was appalled at the idea of so extraordinary a mission, and her confidence was shaken by the incredulity and disapprobation of her parents. But "her voices," as she called them, reiterated the command; they reprimanded her for her disobedience; and she began to fear that any longer delay might be a sin, which would endanger her salvation. CHAP. I. A.D. 1424.

It chanced that a marauding party of Burgundians compelled the inhabitants of Domremy to seek an asylum in Neufchateau. The village was plundered, and the church reduced to a heap of ruins. On their departure the fugitives returned, and the sight wound up the enthusiasm of Joan to the highest pitch. She escaped from her parents, prevailed on an uncle to accompany her, and announced her mission to Baudricourt. Though he treated her with ridicule, she was not discouraged, but remained at Vaucouleurs, where her pretensions gradually transpired, and made her the object of public curiosity. The duke of Lorrain, who laboured under an incurable disease, applied to her as a woman possessed of supernatural powers; but she answered with her characteristic simplicity, that she had no mission to him; he had never been named to her by "her voices." 1428. May.

At length the governor, who had deemed it his duty to communicate her history to the dauphin, received an order to forward her to the French court. To penetrate from Vaucouleurs on the eastern border of Champagne to Chinon in Tourraine, a distance of one hundred and fifty leagues, through a long track of country, of which one portion was possessed by hostile garrisons, and the other perpetually infested by parties of plunderers, was a perilous and almost hopeless attempt. But Joan was confident of success; 1429. February.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1429. Feb. 28.

on horseback, and in male attire, with an escort of seven persons,[1] she passed without meeting an enemy; and on the tenth day at Fierbois, a few miles from Chinon, announced to Charles her arrival and object. That she should have come safe, was thought miraculous; yet two days were spent in deliberation; she might be, it was wisely contended, an emissary of the devil; and to elucidate this important question, a commission was appointed to receive her answers to certain interrogatories. The report proved favourable; after much delay and vacillation, an hour was fixed for her admission to the royal presence: and the poor maiden of Domremy was ushered into a spacious hall, lighted up with fifty torches, and filled with some hundreds of knights, among whom Charles himself had mixed unnoticed, and in plain attire. Joan entered without embarrassment; the glare of the lights, the gaze of the spectators did not disconcert her. Singling out the dauphin at the first glance, she walked up to him with a firm step, bent her knee, and said, "God give you good life, gentle king." He was surprised, but replied; "I am not the king, he is "there," pointing at the same time to a different part of the hall. "In the name of God," she exclaimed, "it is not they, but you are the king. Most noble "lord dauphin, I am Joan the maid, sent on the part "of God to aid you and the kingdom, and by his "order I announce to you that you will be crowned "in the city of Rheims."[2] Charles took her aside;

[1] The escort consisted of her brother Peter, the seigneurs de Metz and Poulengy, their two servants, Colet, a king's messenger, and Richard, an archer of the royal guard.—Mém. 256.

[2] "Dieu vous doint bonne vie, gentil Roy."——"Ce ne suis pas "qui sui Roy. Voici le Roy" . . . . "En non Dieu c'estes vous "et non aultres."—Mém. viii. 268.

spent some time with her in earnest conversation, and, rejoining the company, affirmed that she had discovered to him secrets of his own, which could not have been communicated to her by agency merely human. The following day, "the maid" (so she was now called) made her appearance in public and on horseback. From her look she was thought to be in her sixteenth or seventeenth year; her figure was slender and graceful, and her long black locks fell in ringlets on her shoulders. She ran a course with the lance, and managed her horse with ease and dexterity. The crowd burst into shouts of admiration; they saw in her something more than human; she was a knight descended from heaven for the salvation of France.[1]

Had the pretensions of "the maid" been a political artifice to raise the desponding spirits of his followers, Charles would have seized the present moment to lead them against the enemy. But opposite opinions divided his council. Many, instead of seeking to avail themselves of the public delusion, were afraid of being deluded themselves. She was said to be sent to them from heaven; but was it not possible that she might be an imp from hell? To eludicate this grave and obscure question, Joan was examined and re-examined by a committee of theologians, by the parliament of Poitiers, and by the whole body of the privy councillors; and three weeks elapsed before the king would consent to acknowledge her in her supernatural character. That interval she spent in seclusion and prayer; and then was exhibited a second time to the multitude, sitting on a grey charger with her banner

[1] Semble chose toute divine de son faict, et de la voir et de l'ouir. —See the enthusiastic letter du sire de Laval à sa mère, Mém. viii. 224; also 269.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1429.

borne before her, and armed at all points as a knight. The air resounded with acclamations; men of every rank caught the enthusiasm; and thousands offered their services to follow her to battle. She herself was eager to prove in action the truth of her pretensions; but the king checked her impetuosity, and coolly watched the effect of her presence both on the English as well as on his own subjects.

Care had been taken that the history of "the maid" should be communicated with due exaggeration to the besieging army before Orleans. At first it was received with scorn and derision; soon it began to make impression on the more credulous; from them the alarm was gradually communicated to their neighbours; and at last men of the stoutest hearts shrunk from the task of encountering a supernatural though female champion. It was in vain that Suffolk and his officers sought to check and subdue this dangerous feeling. If they called her an impostor, appeal was made to the wonders attributed to her by report; if a sorceress, the men replied that they feared no mortal like themselves, but were not a match for the spirits of darkness.

Sixty bastiles or forts, erected in a circle round Orleans, had effectually intercepted the communication with the country; and the horrors of famine were already felt within the walls, when it was resolved by the French cabinet to make a desperate effort to throw a supply of provisions into the city. A strong body of men, under some of the bravest officers in France, assembled at Blois, and "the maid" solicited and obtained permission not only to join, but also to direct, the expedition. She was received as an envoy from heaven, and began the exercise o

her supernatural authority by expelling all women of loose character from the army, and calling on the men to prepare for combat by exercises of devotion. To Suffolk, Glasdale, and Pole, the English commanders, she sent orders in the name of God to withdraw from France, and return to their native country; to the chiefs of her own nation she promised complete success, if they would cross the Loire, and march boldly through La Beauce and the quarters of the enemy. But they were not disposed to sacrifice their own plans to the suggestions of an inexperienced enthusiast. Dunois, the governor of Orleans, taking advantage of her ignorance of the country, proceeded by La Sologne on the left bank, and, prevailing on her to cross the river with him in a boat, led her secretly into Orleans, where she was received by the citizens with lighted torches and exclamations of joy. The relieving party had also embarked in boats, and endeavoured to reach Orleans by water; but the wind and current forced them back; they landed, crossed by the bridge at Blois, and were thus compelled to pursue the route previously pointed out by "the "maid." Her promise, however, or prediction was verified. The besiegers did not stir from their intrenchments, and the convoy entered the city.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1429. April 29.

From this moment it became dangerous to dispute the celestial mission of Joan. Her presence created in the soldiers a spirit of daring and a confidence of success, which might perhaps be guided, but could not be restrained, by the authority of their leaders. Day after day sallies were made, and the strongest of the English forts, the bastiles of St. Loup, and St. Jean le Blanc, and Augustus, and les Tournelles, successively fell into the hands of the assailants. On every occasion

May 4, 6 7.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1429.

"the maid" was to be seen in the foremost rank, with her banner displayed, and encouraging her countrymen by her voice and gestures; but at the storming of the Tournelles, whilst she was in the act of planting the first ladder against the wall, an arrow passed through an opening in her corslet, and fixed itself between the chest and the shoulder. Her companions conveyed her out of the crowd; the wound was dressed; and the heroine, after a few minutes spent in prayer, rejoined the combatants. At her appearance the assailants redoubled their efforts, and the fort was won.

Suffolk, disconcerted by these repeated losses, and warned by the desponding countenances of his followers, called in the night a council of war, and

May 8.

determined to raise the siege. At dawn the English army was seen at a short distance from the walls, drawn up in battle array, and braving the enemy to fight in the open field; but "the maid" forbade any man to pass the gates of the city. It was Sunday, she said, a day to be spent in prayer and not in battle. Suffolk waited some hours in vain; at length he gave the signal; the long line of forts, the fruits of so many months' labour, was instantly in flames; and the soldiers, with feelings of shame and regret, turned their backs to the city. The authority of Joan prevented any pursuit,[1] and Suffolk having distributed his men in the neighbouring fortresses, informed the regent that he should be able to maintain his position till the arrival of reinforcements from Paris.

But it was not the intention of Charles to allow his

June 12.

enemies the leisure to breathe. The earl of Suffolk was soon besieged in Jargeau, and the place on the

[1] "En nom Dieu, laissez les partir, et allons rendre graces à "Dieu."—Mém. viii. 272.

tenth day was carried by storm. The Maid of Orleans (she had now received this addition to her former appellation) led the assailants, and reached the top of the wall, from which, by a stroke on the head, she was precipitated into the ditch. As she lay, unable to rise, she continued to exhort her friends with her voice. "Forward, countrymen," she exclaimed, "fear nothing; the Lord has delivered them "into our hands." During the assault an unguarded corner had been discovered; the French poured into the place; more than three hundred of the garrison perished; and Suffolk with the remainder fell into the hands of the enemy. Of the officer, who demanded his sword, he inquired if he were a knight; and being answered in the negative, "Then," said he, "I will "make thee one." Having knighted him, he surrendered. Mehun, Baugeney, and other fortresses, experienced the same fate as Jargeau; and the lord Talbot, who had succeeded to the command, retired towards Paris, till he received a reinforcement of four thousand men. He halted at Patay; but the enemy advanced to the town; and the time for preparation was lost in unavailing debate. Sir John Falstaff proposed to retreat with expedition; Talbot refused to show his back to the enemy. He dismounted, and after a sharp action was made prisoner, with the loss of twelve hundred men. Falstaff fled in the beginning of the action; and in punishment of his cowardice was condemned to forfeit the garter. He proved, however, to the satisfaction of the regent, that to fight with men so dispirited as were the soldiers at Patay, was not to avoid disgrace, but to invite defeat. His excuse was admitted, and he recovered his former honours.

A.D. 1429.

June 18.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1429.

Joan had always declared that the object of her mission was twofold, the liberation of Orleans, and the coronation of the king at Rheims. Of these the first had been accomplished, and she vehemently urged the execution of the second. Though to penetrate as far as Rheims was an enterprise of difficulty and danger, though every intermediate fortress was in the possession of the English or the Burgundians, Charles determined to trust to his own fortune and the predictions of his inspired deliverer. Having sent a strong division of troops to alarm the frontiers of Normandy, and another to insult those of Guienne, he commenced his march with an army of ten thousand cavalry. At Auxerre the citizens refused to admit him within their walls; but they supplied him with provisions, and engaged to imitate the conduct of the other cities. Those of Troyes, after a debate of four days, opened their gates. The inhabitants of Chalons spontaneously sent him the keys of the town; and the citizens of

July 16. Rheims, having expelled the Burgundian garrison, received him with the most flattering testimonies of joy.[1] The coronation was performed in the usual manner; but as none of the peers of France attended,

July 17. Charles appointed proxies to perform their duties. During the ceremony, "the maid," with her banner unfurled, stood by the king's side; as soon as it was over, she threw herself on her knees, embraced his feet, declared her mission accomplished, and with tears solicited his leave to return to her former station. But the king was unwilling to lose the services of one who had hitherto proved so useful; and at his earnest request she consented to remain with the

[1] Rym. x. 432.

army, and to strengthen that throne which she had in a great measure established. This unexpected revolution in the relative situation of the two parties, while it afflicted the duke of Bedford, stimulated him to new exertions. He obtained fresh assurances of fidelity from the duke of Burgundy, withdrew five thousand men from his Norman garrisons, and received an equal number from his uncle Beaufort, who had raised a small army for the chimerical purpose of suppressing the Bohemian Hussites.[1] With these he went in pursuit of Charles, who, unwilling to stake his crown on the uncertain event of a battle, avoided him with equal industry. Weary of this useless labour, he wrote to the king a letter, in which he charged him with deluding the people with the impostures of a dissolute woman, and the sermons of an apostate friar; required him like a loyal prince to name a day and a place where they might meet in the county of Brie; promised that, if a stable peace could be made with a man who had violated his word to the late duke of Burgundy, and stained himself with innocent blood, he would condescend to reasonable conditions; and if not, he offered to fight him hand to hand, that from the issue of the combat the world might know whose claim was favoured by Heaven. To so uncourteous a message Charles did not vouchsafe an answer; but what the duke could not effect, was brought about by accident; and in the neighbourhood of Senlis the two armies undesignedly came in sight of each other. The English, inferior in number, prepared for the fight after their usual manner; the French officers, flushed with success, impatiently demanded the signal of

CHAP. I. A.D. 1429.

August

[1] Rot. Parl. v. 435.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1429.

battle. But the defeats of Azincourt and Verneuil had taught Charles not to rely on mere superiority of number. He consulted the maid; her inspiration had deserted her since the expedition to Rheims. Sometimes she advised, at others dissuaded an engagement; two days were passed in deliberation; and on the third, after a few sharp skirmishes, the armies separated as if it had been by mutual consent. The regent hastened into Normandy, and repulsed the constable, who had penetrated into that duchy; and Charles, at the solicitation of his female champion, took advantage of the duke's absence to make an attempt on the capital. Soissons, Senlis, Beauvais, and St. Denis opened their gates. He advanced to Sept. 12. Montmartre, published an amnesty, and directed an assault on the fauxbourg of St. Honoré. The action lasted four hours. At its very commencement Joan received a dangerous wound, was thrown into the ditch, and lay their unnoticed, till she was discovered in the evening, and carried off by a party sent to search after her. Charles, mortified by the obstinate resistance of the Parisians, retired to Bourges; whilst the maid, looking on her wound as an admonition from Heaven that her commission had ceased with the coronation at Rheims, consecrated her armour to God in the church of St. Denis. Her services, however, were still wanted. At the solicitation of her sovereign she consented to resume the profession of arms, and accepted a patent of nobility for herself and her family, accompanied with a grant of income equal to that of an earl.[1]

While the severity of the weather suspended the operations of war, both parties endeavoured to

[1] Monstrel. ii. 52. Mém. viii. 337.

strengthen themselves by means of negotiation. It was more than suspected that the duke of Burgundy began to repent of his alliance with England; and his fidelity was tempted by an honourable embassy from Charles, who offered him every reasonable satisfaction for the murder of his father. By the majority of his council the proposal was cheerfully received; but the influence of his sister, the duchess of Bedford, fixed the wavering sentiments of her brother; and the duke, in consideration of the payment of twenty-five thousand nobles, engaged to assume the command of the united army at the commencement of spring. He undertook to reduce the city of Compeigne; and the maid was selected to raise the siege. On her march she met an inferior force of Burgundians, defeated it after an obstinate resistance, and ordered its commander, Franquet, to be beheaded on the spot.[1] On the very evening of her arrival she surprised the post of Marigni; but reinforcements poured in from every quarter, and in a short time the assailants turned their backs. The heroine immediately took the command of the rear-guard, and repeatedly facing about, repulsed the pursuers. At last, however, her men were broken; an archer pulled her from her horse; and, as she lay on the ground, she surrendered to the bastard of Vendôme. The shouts of the allied army announced to the besieged the fate of their heroine, who was conducted to the quarters of John of Luxemburg, and after some months was sold by him to the regent. Though the garrison was grieved, it was not dismayed by this accident; and the place

CHAP. I

A.D. 1429.

1430. May.

May 25.

[1] So said her enemies: she says, that she sought to exchange him for de Lours, but the judges of Lagny condemned him to death.—Petitot, 285.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1430.

defied the power of the enemy, till the siege was raised by the approach of the French army under the marshal de Boussac.[1]

The unfortunate maid was treated with neglect by her friends, with cruelty by her enemies. If ever prince had been indebted to a subject, Charles VII. was indebted to Joan d'Arc. She had dispelled the terror with which success had invested the English arms, had re-animated the courage of the French soldiery, and had firmly established the king on the throne of his ancestors. Yet, from the moment of her captivity she appears to have been forgotten. We read not of any sum offered for her ransom, or attempt made to alleviate the rigour of her confinement, or notice taken of her trial and execution. Her enthusiasm had produced the promised effect; and when it was no longer wanted, the jealousy of the French commanders was not displeased at the removal of a female and plebeian rival.

By the humanity of later ages, the life of the prisoner of war is considered as sacred; a few centuries ago he remained at the mercy of the captor, who might retain him in custody, liberate him for money, or put him to death.[2] Avarice, however, generally prevailed over cruelty or resentment; and the wealth to be obtained from the ransom of prisoners was one of the most powerful inducements to military service. Yet, even the present war had furnished

[1] Mém. viii. ibid. Monstrelet, 59—67. He was present at the time, and saw "the maid" in the tent of John of Luxemburg.

[2] Of this a memorable instance occurs in Fenn's collection of original letters, among which is one from Wennyngton, the English admiral, stating his determination to kill or drown the crews of one hundred merchantmen, which he had taken, unless the council should think it better to preserve their lives.—Vol. i. p. 213.

several instances, in which captives, distinguished for their ferocity or obstinacy, had suffered death; and the recent execution of the celebrated Burgundian leader, Franquet, made it doubtful whether the maid herself did not approve of the practice. Had, therefore, her enemies dealt with her in the same manner, though her partisans might have lamented *her* fate, they could not have charged *them* with injustice;[1] but the bishop of Beauvais, in whose diocese she had been taken, claimed the right of trying her in his court on an accusation of sorcery and imposture.[2] It is generally supposed that this claim was made at the suggestion of the duke of Bedford, who trusted that the general belief of her supernatural mission would yield to the condemnation of an ecclesiastical tribunal. That he considered her an agent of the devil, is evident from one of his own letters;[3] and the history of her trial shows that the same opinion had been imbibed by the credulity of her judges. The inquiry was opened at Rouen; on sixteen different days she was brought to the bar; the questions, with her answers, were laid before the university of Paris; and the opinion of that body concurred with the judgment of the court. Still the sentence was delayed from day to day; and repeated attempts were

CHAP. I. A.D. 1430.

1431. Feb. 13.

[1] This is the observation made in a letter written in the name of Henry to the duke of Burgundy. Ainsi que faire nous estoit raisonablement licite, attendu les grans dommages et inconveniens, les horribles homicides, et detestables cruautez, et autres maux innumerables, qu'elle avoit commis à l'encontre de nostre seigneurie, et loyal peuple obeissant.—Apud Monstrel. ii. 72.

[2] This bishop was so devoted to the English interest, that in the preceding year he had been recommended by the council to the pope to be translated to the archbishopric of Rouen.—Rym. x. 438.

[3] "A disciple and lyme of the fiende, that used false enchauntments and sorcerie."—Rym. x. 408.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1431.

made to save her from the punishment of death, by inducing her to make a frank and explicit confession. But the spirit of the heroine continued undaunted; she proudly maintained that she had been the inspired minister of the Almighty; and repeated her conviction that she was often favoured with visits from the archangel Michael, and saints Margaret and Catherine. The fatal day, however, arrived, and the captive was placed at the bar; but when the judge had prepared to pronounce sentence, she yielded to a sudden impulse of terror, subscribed an act of abjuration, and, having promised upon oath never more to wear male attire, was remanded to her former place of confinement. Her enthusiasm, however, revived in the solitude of a prison; her cell was again peopled with celestial visitants, and new scenes of military glory opened to her imagination. An impartial observer would have pitied and respected the mental delusion with which she was afflicted; the credulity of her judges condemned her, on the charge of having relapsed into her former errors. She was lead sobbing and struggling to the stake; nor did the expectation of a heavenly deliverer forsake her, till she saw the fire kindled at her feet. She then burst into loud exclamations, protesting her innocence, and invoking the aid of the Almighty; and just before the flames enveloped her, was seen embracing a crucifix, and calling on Christ for mercy. This cruel and unjustifiable tragedy was acted in the market-place of Rouen, before an immense concourse of spectators, about twelve months after her capture.[1]

May 30.

[1] Meyer, 316, 317. Mém. viii. 337—402. Twenty-five years later this judgment was reversed by the archbishop of Rheims and the bishop of Paris (7th July, 1456), whom Pope Calixtus had ap-

According to the general persuasion of the age, the ceremony of coronation was believed to consecrate the person, and confirm the right of the sovereign. No sooner had Charles been crowned at Rheims, than the duke of Bedford determined that his nephew should be also crowned at the same place. The young king, as a preparatory step, received the regal unction at Westminster in his eighth year; from which moment the title of protector was suppressed, and that of prime counsellor only retained.[1] But the poverty of the exchequer, joined to the untoward events of the war, retarded his progress; and six months elapsed before he was enabled to leave England. At length the sums necessary for his journey were raised by loan; the cardinal of Winchester consented to accompany him; and the duke of Gloucester was appointed the king's lieutenant during his absence. Henry proceeded to Rouen; but the prospect of penetrating to Rheims grew fainter every day; and at the end of eighteen months it was determined that the coronation should take place in Paris. In November, 1431, attended by the chief of the English nobility, and three thousand horse, he left Pontoise, and was met on the road by the clergy, the parliament, the magistrates, and the citizens of the capital. Triumphal arches had been erected; mysteries were performed, and devices were exhibited to honour and entertain the young king. But under these public demonstrations of joy, the Parisians could with difficulty conceal their forebodings of subsequent calamities. The coronation of Henry bore but little resemblance to the

1429. Nov. 6.

1430. April 24.

May.

Dec. 17.

pointed to revise it, at the solicitation of her mother Isabella.—Raynald. vi. 77.

[1] Rot. Parl. iv. 337.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1430.

coronation of their native monarchs. The ceremony was performed by an English prelate, the cardinal of Winchester; the high offices of state were filled by foreigners, or by natives of inferior rank; and no prince of the blood-royal of France, not one of the lay peers, not even the duke of Burgundy, attended to grace the court of the new king. After a few days Henry was re-conducted to Rouen; where he resided a year, and then returned by Calais to England.[1]

Dec. 25. 1432. Feb. 9.

During the king's absence in France the duke of Gloucester had displayed his zeal for religion and the public tranquillity, by the suppression of riots and insurrections in several counties, occasioned by the circulation of seditious handbills, and the spread of the Lollard doctrine, that priests ought not to be "possessioners," and that among Christians all things ought to be in common. He spent the summer in moving from place to place, attended by one of the judges, and inflicting the penalty of death on the guilty; but it appears that his loyalty and religion were inspired and invigorated by his passion for money. In the month of May he demanded and obtained from the council a reward of 500 marks; in July he made another demand, and received an equal sum; his rapacity was not yet satisfied, and in November the lords consented that he should be entitled to a yearly salary of 6,000 marks during the king's absence, and of 5,000 after the king's return, but on condition that he should perform his duty without making any additional claim for particular services.[2]

1431. May 11.

July 16.

Nov. 18—19.

[1] Monstrel. ii. 78—80.

[2] See Fabyan, 602; Chron. of London, 119; Hall, 166; Acts of Coun. iv. 88, 89, 91, 100, 4, 5, 6, 7; Pell Records, 412, 415.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1431.

The war languished during the two following years. Its duration had impoverished and exhausted both parties: but if they were unable through weakness to act with vigour, they were equally unwilling through pride to put an end to the contest. In 1432 happened an event which inclined the balance in favour of Charles. The duchess of Bedford, whose influence with her husband and brother had kept together the discordant materials of which the confederacy was composed, died in November; and the precipitate union of the regent with Jacquetta of Luxemburg, a vassal of the Burgundian, hastened its dissolution. 1433. May 16. Philip's disapprobation was received by the duke with anger and contempt; officious friends were not wanting to widen the breach by their malicious suggestions; and so marked and public was the alienation of the two princes, that when the cardinal of Winchester laboured to effect a reconciliation, and had brought them both within the walls of St. Omer, he could not induce them to speak to each other.[1] This propitious opportunity was not lost by the ministers of Charles, who employed every expedient to detach the Burgundian from his allies. He had now taken ample revenge for the murder of his father; his prejudices and his interest were intimately connected with the cause of his native sovereign; and the wishes of his council and subjects ran in the same channel. If he still adhered to a league which he now hated and condemned, it was in consideration of his oath not to make peace without the consent of the English. To

It is singular that, though in the minutes of the council 100 marks only are ordered to be paid to the duke in July, yet it appears from the "Issue Roll" that payment of 500 marks was made to him on the same account the next day.—Pell Records, 412.

[1] Monstrel. ii. 90.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1433.

remove the difficulty it was suggested in a conference between him and his brothers-in-law, the duke of Bourbon and the constable of France, to attempt a general pacification under the mediation of the pope, as the common father of Christian princes.

To this proposal Eugenius IV. gladly acceded; and 1435. in 1435 was held the congress of Arras, the most illustrious meeting for political purposes which Europe had yet witnessed. The duke of Burgundy, the most magnificent prince of the age, summoned to his court all the nobility of his states: the pontiff was represented by the cardinal of Santa Croce; and the council of Basil, which was then sitting, by the cardinal of Cyprus; the interests of the young Henry were supported by his great-uncle Cardinal Beaufort, with twenty-six colleagues, half French and half English;[1] August 19. and Charles sent a legation of twenty-nine noblemen and ministers, at the head of whom were the duke of Bourbon and the constable. To these were added envoys from the kings of Sicily, Norway, Denmark, and Poland, from many of the princes of Germany and Italy, and from the cities of Flanders and the Hanse Towns. The first days were spent in feastings, tournaments, and parties of pleasure; but even in these the cordiality between the Burgundians and the French was sufficiently apparent to awaken the jealousy and apprehensions of the English. The cardinal of Santa Croce opened the conferences with a common-place harangue on the ravages and evils of war; and projects and counterprojects were exchanged for several days; but the pretensions of the two courts were so opposite and extravagant, that every hope of pacification speedily vanished.[2] Both the cardinals

[1] Rym. x. 611.

[2] Rot. Parl. iv. 481.

mediators and the Burgundian ministers had been gained by the French. The former openly blamed the inflexibility of the English; the latter had prepared for signature a treaty of amity between their master and Charles. To spare himself the mortification of witnessing so unfavourable a transaction, the cardinal of Winchester, with his colleagues, departed from the scene of negotiation; and three weeks afterwards peace was proclaimed between France and Burgundy. The conditions had been dictated by Phillip; that Charles should express his sorrow for the murder of the late duke, should engage to punish the murderers, and should surrender to Philip several fortresses as a security for the payment of four hundred thousand crowns. As soon as the treaty had been signed, the French negotiators, falling on their knees in presence of the duke, begged pardon for the murder of his father; and he, laying his hands on a golden cross placed before the eucharist, solemnly declared that he forgave the king from his heart. The cardinals then absolved him and his lords from the oath of alliance with England. To conclude the ceremony, the barons on each side, according to the custom of the age, swore to enforce the observance of the treaty. The inutility and impiety of such oaths were shown by the remark of the lord of Launay, who, when it came to his turn, exclaimed, "This is the "sixth peace to which I have sworn since the begin-"ning of the war. The five first were all broken. "But as for this, whatsoever others may do, I declare "before God that I will observe it."[1]

Sept. 6.

Sept. 26.

To detail the complex but unimportant operations of the war during the ten following years would be a

[1] Monstrel. ii. 108—119. Meyer, 323.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1435. Sept. 14.

tedious and intricate task. The leading particulars under different heads may suffice to gratify the curiosity of the reader. 1. Before the dissolution of the congress of Arras, the duke of Bedford expired at Rouen. He left the reputation of a prudent statesman, and a brave and experienced general; and his name was long and respectfully remembered by his enemies as well as his countrymen. He was buried in the cathedral on the right hand of the high altar; and when some years later it was suggested to Louis XI. to remove his bones to a less honourable situation, the monarch angrily replied, "I will not "war with the remains of a prince who was once a "match for your fathers and mine; and who, were he "now alive, would make the proudest of us tremble. "Let his ashes rest in peace, and may the Almighty "have mercy on his soul!"[1]

2. To the duke of Bedford succeeded Richard duke of York; but before his arrival Paris had returned to the obedience of its native sovereign. The citizens had always been attached to the Burgundians, and with them were willing to transfer their services from Henry to Charles. The gate of St. Jacques was betrayed in the night to Adam de Lisle and the count de Dunois; chains thrown across the streets prevented the arrival of the English; the lord Willoughby with the garrison retired into the Bastile; and an honourable capitulation freed the capital from the dominion of strangers. The duke landed in Normandy with eight thousand men. He soon reduced the towns which had revolted or surrendered to the enemy; and John Lord Talbot, afterwards earl of Shrewsbury, by his activity and courage restored

1436. April 13.

[1] Stow, p. 475. Hall, 129.

the reputation of the English arms. He defeated, near Rouen, a body of French, who had been invited by the treachery of the inhabitants; and soon afterwards, taking advantage of a fall of snow, surprised the town of Pontoise with a body of men, who, dressed in white, had concealed themselves in a ditch. Thence he spread desolation and terror to the very walls of Paris.[1]

CHAP I. A.D. 1436 — 1437

3. The duke of Burgundy intended to remain neutral; the insults of the English and the inclination of his subjects dragged him into the war. He proved, however, a feeble enemy. Some of his nobles refused to assist him, on the ground of the fealty which they had sworn to the king of England; nor is it improbable that he himself felt some scruple on the same account. This is certain, that he never could be induced to face an English army. At the request of the people of Flanders he undertook to reduce Calais; and the duke of Gloucester, who had been ordered to relieve it, sent the Burgundian a challenge to fight in the open field; but four days before his arrival Philip had retired with precipitation into his own territories. It was in vain that he was followed by Gloucester, to whom Henry, as king of France, had ridiculously granted the earldom of Flanders, forfeited, as it was pretended, by the treason of the Burgundian.[2] The next year Philip besieged the town of Crotoi at the mouth of the Somme. To succour that fortress Talbot marched from Normandy with a small army of four thousand men. They spent the night at St. Valery; the next morning they plunged into the water at

1436. July. August 2.

[1] Monstrel. ii. 127.

[2] Rym. x. 653. For the charges brought by the duke against the English, and the answer given by the council see Monstrelet, ii. 125, and Acts of Coun. iv. 329.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1436.

Blanchetaque; and, though it reached to their breasts, crossed the ford without accident. Astonished at their boldness, the besiegers retired within their lines, and the duke withdrew to Abbeville. Talbot ravaged the country with impunity; the Burgundians mutinied in the camp; and the garrison seized the opportunity to pursue them to a considerable distance.[1]

1437. May 1.

4. In 1437 the duke of York was recalled, and succeeded by Beauchamp, surnamed the Good, earl of Warwick, with the title of lieutenant-general, and governor of France.[2] His short administration (for he died at Rouen in less than two years) was not distinguished by any remarkable event. Instead of the ravages of war, both countries were exposed to a more dreadful scourge in the combined operation of famine and pestilence.[3]

1439. April 30.

5. In 1439 the earl of Richemont, constable of France, recovered the city of Meaux in defiance of the lord Talbot, who endeavoured to raise the siege. But this loss was compensated the next year by the capture of Harfleur, which, with the greater portion of Caux, had been wrested from Henry in 1432. The earl of Somerset, with Talbot and many other

[1] Monstrel. ii. 148—150. [2] Rym. x. 675.

[3] In England the value of wheat rose to what was then considered the enormous price of three shillings and fourpence the bushel; and the people supported life by making bread of pease, beans, and vetches, though in London the merchants, by the importation of rye from the Baltic, contributed to lessen the scarcity. In France we are told by an eye-witness that the advance in the price of provisions was tenfold; and that the number of those who expired of want and disease among the lower classes was immense. This calamitous visitation lasted two years.—See Wyrcest. 459; Monstrel. ii. 151, 155; Fab. 435. On account of the danger of infection, an act was passed that no person, when he did homage, should, as usual, kiss the king, but the homage should be deemed good in law with the omission of the ceremony.—Rot. Parl. v. 31.

distinguished officers, lay before it during several months; and so secure did they consider themselves, that the countess with several ladies consented to spend the summer in the midst of the camp. The count d'Eu, by order of Charles, attempted to relieve the place. The besiegers were attacked at the same time in four different points by sea and land; but every effort to break through their intrenchments proved ineffectual: the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss; and the garrison surrendered.[1] CHAP. I. A.D. 1440.

6. The complaints of the Parisians stimulated Charles to undertake the siege of Pontoise. He invested it with twelve thousand men, threw up bastiles, and fortified them with batteries. Talbot on two occasions succeeded in throwing supplies and reinforcements into the place. The duke of York, who had been appointed the king's lieutenant a second time, arrived with eight thousand men, and offered battle to Charles. But the French monarch still respected the valour of his opponents; he refused to fight without a manifest advantage, and contented himself with observing the fords over the Oise. In the night Talbot made a false attack on the bridge of Beaumont, while lower down the river four men silently crossed to the opposite side in a boat of leather, and drew after them several others. A bridge of ropes was now thrown across; and before any discovery was made, six hundred men had strongly intrenched themselves on the left bank. A fruitless attempt was made to dislodge them; the French army dispersed, and the duke reinforced the garrison. He returned to Normandy, leaving two 1441. May

[1] Monstrel. ii. 173, 174.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1441.

thousand of the enemy in one of the bastiles, which was too strongly fortified to be attacked with impunity; and the sarcasm of the Parisians compelled

Sept. 16.

Charles to resume the siege. At length the French got possession of the church of Notre Dame, which overlooked the walls; and three days afterwards a bloody but successful assault restored this important

Sept. 19.

place to the dominion of the French monarch.[1]

7. In the two next years Charles reduced several fortresses in Guienne, while the English spread themselves over Picardy, Maine, and Anjou. The pope

1439. Jan. 31.

repeatedly exhorted the rival powers to lay aside their arms; and Isabella, duchess of Burgundy, offered herself as a mediatrix equally attached to each party; to France by her marriage with Duke Philip, to England by her descent from John of Ghent, by her mother the queen of Portugal. Her efforts were powerfully seconded by cardinal Beaufort, who, aware that the resources of the country and the patience of the people were exhausted, proclaimed himself the advocate of peace; but were as strenuously opposed by the duke of Gloucester, who would never subscribe to the disgrace of surrendering to the enemy what his brother had won at the cost of so much treasure and blood. The cardinal might rely on a majority in the council and among the people; but was effectually thwarted by the obstinacy of the French cabinet, to whom the continuation of war promised greater advantages than any peace which the English ministers dared to conclude. Hence the frequent attempts at negotiation served only to show the superiority assumed by one nation, and to excite irritation and

[1] Monstrel. ii. 187—191.

despondency in the other.[1] But the quarrel with Burgundy, as it involved no great national interest, was more easily appeased. It had arisen from resentment for the apostasy of the duke; but England,

CHAP. I. A.D. 1439.

[1] The instructions delivered to the English negotiators on one of these occasion (at Calais, 1439) are still extant, and present a most curious specimen of diplomatic finesse. They were ordered, 1. To demand from Charles a formal recognition of Henry's title to the throne of France, and to enforce this demand, not by any inquiry into the king's right (that had been placed beyond the reach of doubt by the decision of his royal father and Edward III.), but by insisting on the pacification of Troyes, and the judgment of God, manifested by the victories which he had given to small bodies of Englishmen over the immense hosts of their enemies. But, 2. If the demand were refused, they were to make an offer to Charles of a principality beyond the Loire with a clear annual revenue of twenty thousand pounds. 3. These, however, were but preliminary flourishes, proposals made that they might be rejected. The lord cardinal of Winchester was now to address the ambassadors of both parties, not as a negotiator (he was not even named in the commission), but as a prince of the church, whom his desire to stop the effusion of human blood had induced to assume the character of mediator with the duchess of Burgundy. In a set speech he was to exhort both parties to terminate a quarrel which had now lasted a hundred years, and which had sacrificed the lives of more men than were at that time alive in the two kingdoms. He was to paint in strong colours the evils of war, both as to the temporal calamities which it inflicts, and the spiritual loss of souls, sent before the tribunal of God in the midst of their sins; he was to observe that the question could be decided only by one of these two ways,—the destruction of the English or French people, which was impracticable, or by an equitable adjustment of claims, which, if it were to be adoped at all, could not be adopted too soon. 4. The English ministers were to be marvellously affected by this speech, and in consequence of it to relax in their pretensions, and to offer to Charles the whole of France beyond the Loire, with the exception of Guienne. Nay: rather than incur the guilt of contributing to the evils so feelingly deplored by the cardinal, they were to suffer themselves to be satisfied with the faithful accomplishment of the great peace of Bretigny. But the French envoys were not to be blinded by so flimsy an artifice. They insisted that Henry should cede all his conquests besides Normandy, and hold that duchy, with Guienne, of the crown of France. The proposal was received as an insult; and the duchess proposed a peace for a limited number of years, on condition that Henry should not take, during that time, the title of king of France, nor Charles make any claim of homage

CHAP. I. A.D. 1439.

in her endeavour to punish him, had, by the interruption of the trade with Flanders, inflicted a severe injury on herself. In 1443 Isabella (with her husband Henry seems to have refused to treat)[1] concluded a suspension of hostilities for an indefinite period with the duke of York.[2] In the next year, her efforts to extend that benefit to all the belligerents were seconded by the more powerful influence of the duke of Orleans, who had been made prisoner at the battle of Azincourt, and after a captivity of twenty-four years had been permitted to revisit his country. Before his departure, he paid down forty thousand nobles, gave security for the payment of eighty thousand more in the course of six months, and bound himself to return at the expiration of the year, unless he should prevail on Charles to consent to a final peace; and Henry on his part engaged to repay him the money on the signature of the treaty, or, in failure of that, on his return to captivity.[3] He was released about the end of the year 1440; and instead of effecting the purpose of his mission, found himself excluded from the court by the intrigues of the royal favourites. Henry was compelled to enlarge the time fixed for his return; and he at length gained that influence in the council which was due to his rank and abilities. Charles now listened to his suggestions in favour of

1443. April 24.

1440. Nov. 13.

during the same period. The ambassadors separated to receive the commands of their sovereigns on this project. At the appointed time the English returned with instructions to refuse, because it would show in the king a lack of might or of right, or of courage; but they had no opportunity of delivering their answer; for the French did not think it worth their while to return at all.—See Rym. x. 724; and Acts of Coun. v. 334.

[1] Many conferences were held with her, none with him, as appears from the instruments in Rymer, x. 713, 730, 761, 767, 802, &c.

[2] Rym. xi. 24.

[3] Ibid. x. 820—829.

peace. The duke himself and the earl of Suffolk were the principal negotiators; and though they could not induce their respective courts to agree to any general basis of pacification, concluded an armistice for two years, during which it was hoped that some way might be discovered of adjusting the opposite claims, and reconciling the interests, of the contending sovereigns.[1] A.D. 1444. May 28.

Hitherto the attention of the reader has been occupied with the conduct of the war in France; this temporary suspension of hostilities will afford him leisure to revert to the domestic occurrences of the last twenty years, and the miscellaneous incidents which diversify the history of that period. I. Before James of Scotland was restored to his throne, a truce of seven years had been concluded between the two kingdoms.[2] By the king it was carefully observed; not that he retained any warm attachment for the place of his captivity, but that he wished for peace in order to curb the factious spirit of his nobles, and to encourage habits of industry and subordination among his people. Hence his connection with England did not prevent him from receiving the ambassadors of the French monarch. He renewed the ancient league between the two crowns, and agreed to give the princess of Scotland in marriage to the dauphin, as soon as the parties should have attained the age of puberty. His poverty did not enable him to offer with his daughter a portion becoming her rank; but he assented to what was still more acceptable, an aid of six thousand Scottish troops, whenever a fleet for their conveyance should arrive 1424. March 28. 1428. July 17

[1] Rym. xi. 59—67. [2] Ibid. x. 329—332.

CHAP. L A.D. 1428. Nov.

from France.[1] To secure his friendship, Charles made to him a grant of the county of Xaintogne, and the lordship of Rochefort, which the king of Scots condescended to hold of the French crown, with an engagement to send the first prince of his blood to perform the accustomed homage.[2] These treaties alarmed the English government. The cardinal of

1429. Feb

Winchester obtained a personal interview with James at Durham; and, whether it was owing to his suggestions, or to the difficulty of providing a sufficient number of vessels, the stipulated auxiliaries never left Scotland.[3] James even threw out some hint of a final peace in lieu of the existing truce, to be founded on a marriage between Henry and one of

1430. Jan. 24.

his daughters. The council hastened to profit by the suggestion, and Lord Scrope was authorized to negotiate a peace "by way of marriage and other "lawful and honourable means;" but at the same time, whether it were through pride or policy, he was instructed not to make the proposal himself, but to draw it artfully from the Scottish commissioners.

July.

He failed; made his report to the council in England and to the king in France, and returned to Scotland with new powers to conclude a peace "on any terms "and in any manner;" an alteration which sufficiently proved the great anxiety of the English government to withdraw James from his alliance with Charles,

[1] Du Tillet, 138. Ford, xvi. 11. Thresor des Chartres, 128. By mistake the date of 1448 has been substituted for 1428 in this and the other articles under the head of "huietiesm piece."

[2] Du Tillet, ibid. The next month by a new agreement it was stipulated that after the expulsion of the English from France, the Scottish king, in lieu of Xaintogne and Rochefort, should receive either the duchy of Berri or the county of Evreux, to be held on the same terms.—Ibid. Dec. 10, 1428.

[3] Rym. x. 409, 410. Pell Records, 407, 408.

as long as that prince should be at war with England.[1] But the Scottish king adhered firmly to his engagements with France; and the utmost which the envoy could accomplish was to renew the truce for five years,[2] with an understanding that, if any Scotsmen should sail to the assistance of the enemies of Henry, they might be treated as enemies themselves, without any interruption of the harmony between the two crowns. A.D. 1430. Dec. 15.

It was not long, however, before the French ministry reminded the Scottish king of his engagements; whilst the lord Scrope, if we may believe the Scottish historians,[3] offered on the part of England the cession to Scotland of Berwick, Roxburgh, and the debateable lands, as the price of a perpetual peace and alliance. This proposal divided the Scottish parliament. During a debate of two days one party maintained that the king by his previous treaty with France was precluded from listening to the offers of England; the other, that no prince could conscientiously bind himself to follow the dictates of another in the matter of war and peace, contrary to the commands of the gospel, and the interests of his people. They separated 1433. Oct.

[1] The words in the first commission are, "per medium sponsaliorum sive matrimonii, ac per media quæcumque alia licita et honesta."—In place of all these in the second we read, "per quæcumque media quoque modo."—Rot. Scot. ii. 269, 272.

[2] Rym. and Acts of Coun. iv. 19—27, 53, 75. Ibid. x. 482—488. By a curious clause were excepted from the truce all the lands in England south of St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, and all the lands in Scotland, north of the river Forn, between Moray and Ross to the sea (ibid. 484); that is, as far as I can understand it, no lands at all.

[3] Major, vi. 13. Leslie, 246. Buchan. ix. 50. Drummond (p. 30) adds an offer of marriage with the Scottish princess, but on what authority is unknown. That there is no great improbability in these statements appears from the commissions mentioned in the last note but one; there may, however, be some mistake either as to the exact time, or to the name of the negotiator.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1433.

without coming to any result; and both the French and English envoys failed in the object of their missions.[1]

Two years later, Sir Robert Ogle had the presumption to pass the borders, and assist a Scottish lord, who had taken up arms against the king. He was defeated at Piperdan by the earl of Angus. James, irritated by this breach of the armistice, demanded reparation; but, though commissioners were appointed by Henry, and a letter was written by him to the king of Scots with his own hand, the difference was not accommodated.[2] Suspicious of his intention, the council ordered a fleet of one hundred and eighty sail to cruise in the German Ocean, and intercept the princess of Scotland in her way to the French coast. She was, however, more fortunate than her father had been in similar circumstances; and by steering round the north of Scotland, eluded the English squadron, and reached the port of Rochelle.[3] This new insult determined James to seek revenge with the sword. He summoned every Scot between the ages of sixteen and sixty to join his banner; and, if we may believe a native and contemporary writer, more than two hundred thousand men followed him to the siege of Roxburgh.[4] The fall of the fortress was prevented by the inconstancy of the king, who, after a few days, on the approach of the earl of Northumberland, disbanded the army, and hastened to Edinburgh. It were idle to enumerate all the motives to which different writers have attributed his conduct; the most plausible conjecture supposes him to have received a hint of the dark and mysterious conspiracy,

1435. March 7.

[1] Ford. xvi. 23, 24.
[2] Ibid. 9.
[3] Rym. 635. Ford. xvi. 9.
[4] Ibid. 26.

which within six months deprived him of life.[1] He was succeeded by his son, James II., who had only completed his fifth year; and one of the first acts of the new reign was the conclusion of a truce with Henry till the year 1447.[2]

II. England, during this period, exhibited the unusual spectacle of two princesses, who, despising the pride of birth, had married into families of commoners. 1. Jacquetta of Luxemburg, after the death of the duke of Bedford, married Sir Richard Wydeville, an English gentleman, distinguished by the extraordinary

[1] It was in August that he raised the siege; at Christmas he repaired to his favourite residence in the Dominican convent at Perth. On the evening of the 20th of February, after drinking the voidee, or parting cup, with his company, he retired to his bed-chamber, and as he stood in his gown before the fire, conversing with the queen and her attendants, he was suddenly alarmed by the clash of arms. Aware of the danger, he called to the ladies to bolt the door, while he should escape by the window. But the iron bars were too close to admit a human body between them; and the king, seizing the fire-tongs, rushed into an adjoining closet, wrenched up one of the boards from the floor, and let himself through the aperture into the privy. The board immediately dropped into its former place; and it soon appeared that the noise proceeded from Sir Robert Graham, who, with three hundred Highlanders, had scaled the defences of the monastery. They burst open the door, broke the arm of Catherine Douglas, who attempted to exclude them, and wounded the queen, when a voice exclaimed, "For shame! She is "but a woman. Look after her husband." Not finding him in the bed-chamber, they parted in separate directions to search the adjoining room; and James seizing the opportunity, called to the ladies to draw him out. In the attempt Elizabeth Douglas fell through the aperture; and during the confusion caused by this event one of the assassins entered the closet. He informed his associates. Sir John Hall leaped below, and was followed by his brother; but the king, an athletic man, seized each in the descent, and attempted to throttle them on the floor. Graham sprang to their assistance. At the entreaties and promises of James he began to waver; but his confederates above terrified him by their threats; and the unarmed monarch was despatched with sixteen wounds.—See the contemporary relation of this tragical event, published by Pinkerton, vol. i. App. No. xiii.

[2] Rym. x. 689.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1435.

beauty of his person. Wydeville was immediately cast into prison for the offence of marrying a tenant of the crown without the royal license; but obtained his liberty on the payment of a fine of one thousand pounds, and was afterwards, out of respect to his wife, created Baron Rivers.[1] 2. Catherine, a daughter of France, the widow of the last, the mother of the present sovereign, married Owen ap Tudor, a Welsh gentleman, said to be descended from the celebrated Cadwallader.[2] It does not appear that this marriage was ever formally acknowledged; but it was followed by an act of parliament, by which to marry a queen dowager without license from the king was made an offence punishable with the forfeiture of lands and goods;[3] and, as soon as Catherine was dead, Tudor received a summons at Daventry to appear in person before the king. The safe conduct which at his demand had been granted was afterwards violated. He escaped from prison, was retaken, and escaped a second time. With the real cause of this severity we are not acquainted: the act of parliament had passed after his marriage, and there is no mention made of it in the Acts of the Council; but from the expressions

1437. March 3.

1418.

1437. Jan. 3.

March.

[1] This offence was common, and always punished with fine, and often with imprisonment also, if the husband were of inferior rank to the wife. In the Acts of the Council we meet with such fines as 1,000*l.* or 12,000 marks, &c.—See Acts, iii. 130, 145, 164, 252.

[2] The Chronicle of London asserts the Tudor was "no man of "birthe, nother of lyflod" (p. 123); yet the council in an official instrument gives him the title of "armiger."—Rym. x. 709. His sons Edmund and Jasper were placed under the care of Catherine de la Pole, abbess of Barking.

[3] There can be no doubt that such act was passed, though it is not found on the Rolls now. But Sir Harris Nicholas informs us that the membrane, on which it ought to be found, is wanting, and that the numbers of the following membranes have been altered. —Acts of Coun. v. xvii. not.

used there it may perhaps be inferred that he had done or said something to raise apprehensions, that, sprung, as was pretended, from the ancient princes of Wales, and proud of his alliance by marriage with the royal families of England and France, Owen ap Tudor might be tempted to re-enact the part of Owen Glendower, and might, like that chieftain, meet with willing and enthusiastic support from the national predilections of his countrymen.[1] However that may have been, Tudor, after his second escape, was suffered to remain without molestation. His sons by Catherine were acknowledged by Henry as brothers. Edmund he created earl of Richmond, Jasper earl of Pembroke: Owen, the youngest, became a monk in the abbey of Westminster.

A.D. 1437.

1452.

III. It was probably owing to this marriage that Henry, when he was only in his third year, had been taken out of the hands of his mother, and intrusted to the care of Dame Alice Botiller, to whom as his governess the infant monarch was made to give authority by special warrant, and with the advice of the council, to chastise him from time to time, in reasonable wise, as the case might require, without being subsequently called to account.[2] From the tuition of Dame Alice he passed in his seventh year to the charge of the

1424. Feb. 21.

1428. June 1.

[1] We meet with these expressions: "his malicious purpos and "ymagination;" the danger of "rebellion, murmur, or inconveni-"ence from his enlargement;" "the disposition of Walys."—Ibid. p. 50.

[2] De nous resonablement chastier de temps en temps ainsi comme le cas requerera.—Ibid. iii. 143. This lady in return for her services received a pension for life of 40*l.*, to which another of thirty marks was afterwards added. I may observe that King John gave pensions of two pence per day to the nurses of his children.—Rot. Claus. i. 150, 175: but the nurses of Henry V. VI. VII. received 20*l.* per annum as long as the king pleased, which was, in fact, for life.—Acts of Coun. iii. Pell Records, 384. Ellis, 2, ser. i. 171.

CHAP. I. A.D 1428.

earl of Warwick, who, in his patent of appointment, was ordered to look to the health and safety of the royal person, to watch over the education of his pupil in morals and virtue, in literature and the languages, in manners and courtesy, and in all the acquirements which become a great king; and to chastise his negligence or disobedience in such manner as other princes of the same age were wont to be chastised.[1] But when Henry had reached his eleventh year, Warwick applied to the council for more ample powers. He found that officious persons, to make their court to the sovereign, had filled his mind with notions of his own importance, and that he would no longer submit to the punishments which it was occasionally deemed necessary to inflict. The earl therefore demanded authority to appoint or dismiss the persons composing the royal household; to prevent any stranger from speaking with the king unless it were in presence of one of the four knights of the body; and to remove him from place to place as he saw it necessary for his health or security. He also required the council to admonish the king in a body, of the necessity of obedience to his preceptor, and to promise that they would stand by him, if on account of chastisement his pupil should conceive any antipathy against him.[2] All these demands were granted. It was, however, impossible to exclude flatterers from the prince; who, at their suggestion, in his fourteenth year, demanded

1432. Nov. 29.

1434. Nov. 12.

[1] Rym. x. 399. Rot. Parl. iv. 411.

[2] Ibid. 433, 434. If we believe Hardyng, though

> "Th'erle Richard in mykell worthy heade
> Enformed hym, yet of his symple heade
> He coulde little within his breast conceyve,
> The good from eivill he could uneth perceyve."—p. 394.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1434.

to be admitted into the council, and to be made acquainted with the manner in which the concerns of his kingdom were conducted. This claim was resisted with firmness, but with respect.[1] Yet Henry, though he acquiesced for the present, three years afterwards renewed his demand. To satisfy him, it was resolved, that the pardon of offences, the collation of benefices, and all special graces should be reserved to the king; that he should be made acquainted with all debates of importance respecting his crown and prerogatives; and should decide in all matters, regarding which the council should be so far divided in opinion that the majority did not exceed two-thirds of the members.[2] Thus the government remained till he became of full age.

1437. Nov. 13.

IV. The reader has already noticed the commencement of the quarrel between the duke of Gloucester and his uncle the bishop of Winchester. Their mutual rivalry converted these near relations into the bitterest enemies, and gave insensibly an opposite direction to

[1] The members of the council (the duke of Gloucester alone was absent) replied, that, "God, indeed, had endowed the king with as "great understanding and feeling as ever they saw or knew in any "prince or other person of his age; nevertheless, to quit them truly "to God, to the king, and to his people, they dare not take upon "them to put him in conceit or opinion that he is yet endowed with "so great feeling, knowledge, and wisdom, the which must in "great part grow of experience, nor with so great foresight and "discretion to depart and choose in matters of great weight and "difficulty, as is expedient and behoveful to him and his people. "They therefore think it would be perilous and harmful to change "the rule and governance that afore this in his tender age hath "been appointed for the good and surety of his noble person, and "of this land; and trust, that if any such motion be again made to "him, before he agree to it, he will take the advice of his great "council, or of his continual council, for the time being; the which "manner of his demeaning, it is trowed and thought, will be the "best that can be advised."—Ibid. 438.

[2] Rym. 438, 439.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1437.

their views of national polity. The duke proclaimed himself the warm and inexorable advocate of war; the bishop contended with equal vehemence for peace; and, as the council perpetually oscillated between the influence of the one and of the other, the war was never conducted with vigour, and obstacles were constantly opposed to the conclusion of peace. The bickerings between these two ministers are of themselves beneath the notice of history; but they derive importance from their consequences, which were felt through the greater portion of Henry's reign.

When Beaufort, during the life of the last monarch, visited the council of Basil, he was named by Martin V. cardinal and apostolic legate in England, Ireland, and Wales, with a promise that his creation and appointment should be afterwards published in the accustomed manner.[1] The intelligence alarmed the jealousy of Archbishop Chichely. Other legates were foreigners, whose stay was too short to create any permanent prejudice to the rights of the metropolitan; but Beaufort would fix his residence in England, and by his superior authority suspend or limit for years that jurisdiction which belonged to the successors of St. Augustine. On this account he wrote a long letter to the king, who, persuaded by his arguments, forbade the bishop of Winchester to accept the dignity which had been offered to him.[2]

1417. Dec. 28.

1419 March 6.

[1] Ang. Sac. i. 800.

[2] After alluding to the ambition of Beaufort, he tells the king that, "There never was no legate a latere sent into no land, and "specially into the realm of England, without great and notable "cause. And they, when they came, abiden but little while, not "over a year, and some a quarter or two months, as the needs re- "quired; and yet over that he was treated with ere he came into

CHAP. I. A.D. 1419.

Thus the matter rested, till the quarrel arose between that prelate and his nephew of Gloucester. It has been already mentioned that Beaufort condescended to make him an apology, resigned the chancellorship, and obtained permission to travel; but it is probable that by these concessions he purchased the royal license to accept the preferments to which he had been named in the court of Rome. He was soon afterwards declared cardinal priest of St. Eusebius, was invested with the usual habit at Calais, received the hat at Mechlin, and was appointed captain-general of the crusaders destined to oppose the Bohemian Hussites.[1] His absence perhaps encouraged, or his promotion stimulated, the ambition of the duke of Gloucester, who at the next meeting of parliament required of the lords a declaration of the powers invested in him as protector. Whether it was on this or some other account, is uncertain, but the parliament was soon afterwards prorogued. When it opened again, the duke repeated his demand, adding that he would not take his seat till it was answered, and admonishing the house not to pass any bill in his absence. The reply must have proved most mortifying to his ambition. They reminded him that the act which gave to him the title of protector invested him with no authority except in the two cases of foreign invasion and internal revolt; "marvelled from "their hearts" that, after he had subscribed this act he should pretend to any additional power; declared that in parliament he was no more than any other

1426. June 26.

1427. March 18

Oct. 15.

1428. March 3.

"the land, when he should have exercise of his power, and how "much should be put into execution."—See the whole letter apud Duck, Vit. Chich. p. 129.

[1] Ang. Sac. 318. Raynald. vi. 92, 93.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1428.

peer; and exhorted him to resume his seat, and attend to the business of the nation, as he was bound to do in obedience to the king's writ. The duke reluctantly acquiesced.[1]

About six months later the cardinal ventured to return to England; and at his entry into the metro-
Sept. 1. polis was met in solemn procession by the clergy, the mayor, and the citizens. But it soon appeared, though he had been received with honour, his new dignity had made him an object of suspicion. In the presence of the council, and at the requisition of the king's attorney, he was compelled to promise that he would abstain in the execution of his office from every act which might derogate from the rights of the crown or of the subject;[2] and when the
1429. April 17. feast of St. George approached, was forbidden to attend as chancellor of the order of the garter, on the ground that he ought to have vacated that office, together with the bishopric of Winchester, from the day on which he accepted the dignity of cardinal.[3] When he remonstrated, the council replied, that it was at least a difficult and doubtful question, which they dared not solve during the minority of the king; and to this answer, he was content to submit, that he might not by opposition defeat the

[1] Rot. Parl. iv. 326, 327.

[2] The protest of Caudray, the king's attorney, is still extant. He maintains that it is the right of the crown, founded on special privilege and prescription, with the knowledge and tolerance of the pontiffs, that no legate should come to England unless at the petition of the king; and that, as the cardinal had come without being asked for, it was not the intention of the king or council to approve of his entrance in derogation of the laws or rights of the kingdom, or to admit him as legate contrary to law and right, or to consent that he should exercise his legation in opposition to the same.—Fox, i. 920.

[3] Rym. x. 414. Acts of Coun. iii. 324.

project in which he was now engaged. As soon as Cunzo, the papal envoy, had delivered the letters of Martin V. to the council, the cardinal exhibited the bull appointing him captain-general against the Hussites, and solicited the royal license to publish the crusade, and to raise an army of five hundred lancers and five thousand archers for the expedition. Both petitions were granted, but on condition that the troops should be reduced to one-half of the number demanded, and the donations of the people should be expended in the purchase of arms and provisions within the realm.[1] But soon a transaction occurred most disgraceful to all the parties concerned. For a bribe of one thousand marks the cardinal consented that the men whom he had raised for the crusade should be led against the king's enemies in France; and the council, on their part, engaged to indemnify him to the pontiff for this breach of his duty. He received their bond; but promised to keep this part of the transaction secret, and not to apply for payment from them till he should fail in his attempt to procure it from the regency of France.[2] When Charles found the crusaders arrayed against himself, he complained most bitterly to the pontiff, who loudly protested his ignorance of this fraudulent transaction, and upbraided the cardinal with having injured the cause of religion, and stained the reputation of the Holy See. Beaufort attempted to justify himself by

CHAP. I. A.D. 1429.

May 10.

June 11.

July 1.

August. 11.

[1] Rym. x. 419—423.

[2] Rym. 424—426. I suspect that the whole business was a fraud from the very beginning. The cardinal's petition to raise men was granted, and the agreement signed on the 18th of June; and yet on the 15th and 16th of the same month orders had been given to prepare quarters for him and his army in Kent, and to provide a fleet for their passage to foreign parts, *on the king's service*—in obsequium nostrum.—Id. 418.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1429.

allegations which it is difficult to believe; that the orders of his sovereign were intimated to him in such terms that he durst not disobey; and that the men themselves declared to his face that they would not march against the Hussites, but were determined to restore the superiority of the English arms in France.[1]

If the conduct of the cardinal on this occasion irritated the court of Rome, it served to add to his popularity in England; and when the parliament assembled, both houses seemed to contend which should heap upon him the most distinguished honours. The

Sept. 22.

same objection which excluded him from the feast of St. George had also excluded him from the king's council; but the lords now requested him, for the

Dec. 18.

service of the king, and the benefit of the nation, to resume his seat at that board, and to absent himself only when subjects were debated which concerned the court of Rome.[2] To this flattering request he will-

Dec. 20.

ingly assented; and two days later the commons, when they presented to the king a grant of a second supply, took the opportunity to preface it with a panegyric on the virtues and services of the cardinal.[3]

It is generally believed that the duke of Gloucester, finding himself unable to exclude his rival from the cabinet by force, undertook to remove him by policy. So much is certain, that Beaufort, at the repeated instances of the council, consented to accompany the young king to France; and that during his absence

[1] Raynald. vi. 73, 74.

[2] Rot. Parl. iv. 338.

[3] Facta prius speciali recommendatione reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini, domini Henrici, permissione divina titulo S. Eusebii, presbyteri cardinalis de Anglia vulgariter nuncupati, per prolocutorem suum ulterius declarabant, &c.—Ibid. p. 337. I quote the words of the record, because they have generally been misunderstood to mean, that the commons granted a second subsidy at the recommendation of the cardinal.

an ungenerous attempt was made to ruin him for ever. In a numerous meeting of the peers, the king's attorney, on the ground that the dignity of cardinal was incompatible with the possession of a bishopric, proposed that he should be removed from the see of Winchester, and condemned to refund its revenues from the day of his promotion in the court of Rome. Gloucester immediately rose, charged his uncle with having obtained for himself and his diocese a bull of exemption from the jurisdiction of Canterbury, and contended that by such act he had incurred the penalties of premunire. But of this charge no satisfactory evidence was produced; and the lords after a long debate resolved, that the cardinal should be heard in his own defence, and in the interval the records should be searched for precedents, and the judges be required to deliver their opinions.[1] The duke, however, was not discouraged. Three weeks later the subject was again brought forward in a meeting of the privy council, in which the majority of the members belonged to his party; but the abbot of Chertsey, the cardinal's vicar-general, pleaded successfully for delay, urging, among other reasons, the indecency of condemning in his absence a prelate so nearly related to the king, and actually attendant

A.D. 1431. Nov. 6.

Nov. 28.

[1] Rym. x. 497. The objections now made were the cause, that when Eugenius in 1440 named the archbishops of York and Rouen cardinals, both these prelates refused that dignity; and to relieve them from all apprehension, Henry granted them the royal license to retain their bishoprics together with the cardinalate, and the pope solemnly declared that it had not been his intention by introducing them into the sacred college, to remove them from their churches of York and Rouen. The writs issued on this occasion show how difficult it was for ecclesiastics at this period to secure themselves from the operation of the statutes of premunire.—Rym. x. 758, 840.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1431.

on the royal person beyond the sea at the request of the council; and the lords, though to gratify the duke they ordered the sealing of the writs of premunire and attachment, prevailed on him to consent that the execution should be suspended till the return of the king.[1]

It was not to be expected that Beaufort, with such writs hanging over his head, would venture upon English ground till he was secure of protection from

1432. Feb. 9.

the enmity of his nephew. He accompanied the young Henry from Rouen to Calais; but there, having obtained permission to travel to Rome, he took leave of his sovereign. His intended journey was probably a pretence. He felt too seriously interested in the proceedings against him in England

May 12.

to leave the coast of Flanders. Two months after the arrival of Henry a parliament assembled, and a bill of indemnity, to protect him from the penalties of premunire, if they had been incurred, was brought into the commons, and met with no opposition in its progress through either house. Shortly afterwards he appeared in his place, on a day when Henry was present.[2] He had obtained, he said, the king's leave to proceed to Rome at the requisition of the sovereign pontiff, when he heard that it was intended to charge him with treason in his absence. As his reputation was dearer to him than any other treasure, he had returned to face his accuser. Let him come forth,

[1] For the knowledge of this circumstance, and for some alterations in the narrative, I am indebted to the researches of Sir Harris Nicolas.—Acts of Coun. iv. Pref. xxxi—xlii.

[2] We know not the exact order in which these events occurred. On the Rolls the act of indemnity occupies the last place; but in the exemplification granted at the time to the cardinal it occupies the first.

whosoever he might be, and he should find him ready to answer. After some deliberation between the duke and the lords, it was replied; that no one appeared to make such a charge, and that the king held him to be a good and faithful subject. Beaufort thanked his sovereign for his gracious declaration, and demanded that it might be delivered to him in writing under the king's signature; not that he meant to plead it on a future occasion—he scorned to depend on any thing but his own innocence—but that it might be publicly known that no one dared to support such an accusation against him. His request was granted, and the declaration was entered on the rolls.[1]

A seizure of jewels, belonging to the cardinal, had lately been made at Sandwich, by order of Gloucester, and probably under the pretence of a false entry at the custom-house as to their description or value.[2] Beaufort now demanded the restoration of his property; which after a long debate was ordered in parliament on the following singular condition; that he should deposit 6,000*l.* in the king's hands; that Henry within the six next years should determine whether the seizure was just and legal or not, and that in accordance with such determination he should retain or repay the money. At the same time the cardinal made to the king a loan of 6,000*l.*, in addition to 8,000*l.* previously advanced, to be repaid out of the first supply granted by parliament.[3]

[1] Rot. Parl. iv. 390, 391. Rym. x. 516, 517.

[2] That the seizure was made by order of the duke appears to me plain from the proviso at the end of the act; and I think it probable that the jewels had been condemned in the exchequer under pretence of the entry, from the non obstante clause.—Rym. x. 517.

[3] Ibid. Two years later, in a great council, the king at the

CHAP. I. A.D. 1432.

From this period, during several years, the uncle and nephew, equally jealous of each other, laboured to strengthen their own influence by the advancement of their dependents. Gloucester on all occasions brought forward Richard duke of York, in whom were now centred the rights of the family of Clarence; the cardinal espoused on all occasions the interests of his nephew, Henry Beaufort, earl, and afterwards duke of Somerset. The former continued to preside in the cabinet, and to gratify his rapacity by obtaining grants from the crown; the latter annually aided the government with loans, and conducted in person almost every negotiation with foreign powers. Though these, as far as regarded peace, had been hitherto unsuccessful, they served to augment his popularity. The nation, exhausted by a long and ruinous contest, naturally transferred its attachment from the patron of war to the advocate of peace.

1439. At length the two rivals made the grand trial of their strength. The duke of Orleans had often and earnestly sued to obtain his liberation, promising to exert all his influence to bend the French cabinet to proposals of peace. The cardinal favoured, the duke opposed his petition. The former argued, that in the present exhausted state of the nation, it was prudent to employ every probable expedient to put an honourable termination to the war; and that at all events the ransom of the duke would enable the king to continue the contest for two years without any ad-

request of the lords admitted that he had no right in conscience to the jewels, and ordered the 6,000*l.* to be repaid; on which the cardinal lent him 1,000 marks towards the war in France.—Acts of Coun. iv. 238. Notwithstanding the compromise in parliament, the jewels had not been restored; for the king paid for them to the cardinal 8,000*l.*, their estimated value, on June 10, 1434.—Pell Records, 425.

ditional burden to the people. Gloucester built his opposition on the abilities of the prisoner, and his acquaintance with the policy and resources of England. Charles and his son, he observed, were princes of slender capacity, guided by their ministers, and placed in opposition to each other by the intrigues of their favourites; but were the duke of Orleans to obtain his liberty, he would unite the two parties, assume the direction of the cabinet, and teach the English to condemn their own folly in supplying the enemy with so able a counsellor.[1] To lessen the influence of the cardinal, Gloucester delivered to the king a memorial, containing the real or supposed transgressions of that prelate, under twenty different heads; but though it is probable that out of so great a number some charges may have been founded in fact, the majority prove rather the enmity of the nephew than the guilt of the uncle.[2] The king read

[1] Rym. x. 765.

[2] He accuses him of ambition in seeking the dignity of cardinal after he had been prohibited by the late king, and of contempt of the royal authority in receiving the papal bulls, retaining his bishopric of Winchester, and procuring an exemption from the authority of the primate, without the king's permission. But if these offences subjected him, as Gloucester maintained, to the penalties of premunire, it should be remembered that they had been long ago pardoned by act of parliament. In the next place he complains of Beaufort's avarice, whose riches are too great to have been honestly procured. He makes, indeed, loans to the king, but seldom executes his engagements with fidelity, seeking pretexts to appropriate to himself the securities which he obtains, and defrauding the crown by means of his officers, who received the customs in the port of Southampton. The cardinal's services in foreign embassies, so frequently applauded by the parliament, have, he maintains, produced advantage to no one but the king's enemies. By the congress at Arras he furnished the means of reconciliation to Charles and the duke of Burgundy; and by the late negotiation at Calais, to the duke of Burgundy and the duke of Bourbon. It was the private interest of his family that induced him to liberate without authority the king of Scots; and some similar motive urges him now to insist so earnestly on the release of the duke of Orleans. In short he has con-

CHAP. I. A.D. 1439.

the memorial; but it seems not to have made on his mind any impression unfavourable to Beaufort. The negotiation with the duke of Orleans continued; and, as the council was divided in opinion, the arguments on both sides, according to the late arrangement respecting such cases, were laid before Henry in writing. He decided in favour of the cardinal. Gloucester, who could ill brook his defeat, lodged on the rolls of chancery a solemn and argumentative protest against the measure;[1] and, to give the greater publicity to his disapprobation, retired to his barge on the river, as soon as the mass began, during which the duke of Orleans was to swear on the sacrament that he would fulfil his engagements.[2]

Oct. 28.

The duke was, however, destined to experience a still more cruel disgrace. Though, by his marriage with his mistress, he had legitimated their union, he had not raised her character in the estimation of the public; and the pride, the avarice, and the licentiousness of Dame Eleanor (so she was called) ultimately led to her ruin. There have been in all ages professors of the black art; nor is it so very long since men have had the good sense to laugh at their pretensions. One of the duke's chaplains, Roger

1441. June 28.

trived to arrogate all the powers of government to himself and his creature the archbishop of York; keeps at a distance from the king all those prelates and lords that are sincerely attached to the royal person; and has on all occasions opposed the offers of the duke of Gloucester to lead an army into France and recover for Henry the whole of his inheritance. See his memorial at length in Hall (161—166), who has placed it in the wrong year. From internal evidence it appears to have been composed after the negotiation at Calais in June, 1439, and before the renewal of that negotiation in May, 1440, or the assumption of the cardinalate by the archbishop of York, on 4th February, 1440. I conceive therefore that it was presented to the king about the close of 1439.

[1] Rym. x. 765—767.

[2] See Fenn's original Letters, vol. i. p. 3.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1441.

Bolingbroke, was accused of necromancy, and exhibited with the instruments of his art to the admiring populace on a platform before St. Paul's, "arrayed in marvellous attire," bearing in his right hand a sword, and in his left a sceptre, and sitting in a chair, on the four corners of which were fixed four swords, and on the points of the swords four images of copper.[1] The July 25.

second night afterwards Dame Eleanor secretly with- July 27.

drew into the sanctuary of Westminster, a step which naturally excited suspicion. She was confronted with Bolingbroke, who declared that it was at her instigation that he had first applied to the study of magic. From the inquiry which followed, it appeared that Eleanor was a firm believer in the mysteries of the art; that, to secure the affection of the duke, she had employed love-potions furnished by Marjory Jourdemain, the celebrated witch of Eye; and that, to learn what would be her subsequent lot (her husband was presumptive heir to the throne), she had charged Bolingbroke to discover the duration of the king's life. Soon afterwards an indictment of treason was found against Bolingbroke and Southwell, a canon of St. Paul's, as principals, and the duchess as an accessory. The former were said, at the solicitation of the latter, to have formed an image of wax, and to have exposed it to a gentle heat, under the per-

[1] Clericus famosissimus unus illorum in toto mundo in astronomia et arte nigromantica.—Wil. Wyrces. 461. It was probably on account of his learning that he had been admitted into the duke's family. That prince is celebrated by contemporaries as the great patron of learned men. Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., in a letter to Adam Molins, whom he praises for his eloquence, says: "Sed magnæ ob hanc causam grates clarissimo illi et doctissimo principi Glocestriæ duci, qui studia humanitatis summo studio in regnum vestrum recepit, qui, sicut mihi relatum est, poetas mirifice colit, et oratores magnopere veneratur."—Ep. 64, p. 584.

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suasion, that as the image melted away, the health of the king would gradually decline. The two women, however, were arraigned before the ecclesiastical court. Jourdemain, as a relapsed witch, was condemned to be burnt; Eleanor, out of twenty-eight articles brought against her, confessed some and denied others; but when the testimony of the witnesses had been heard, withdrew her plea, and submitted to the mercy of the court. She was compelled, on three days of the week, to walk hoodless, and bearing a lighted taper in her hand, through the streets of the capital; and was afterwards confined a prisoner for life, with an annuity of one hundred marks for her support.[1] Southwell died in the Tower before his trial; two others obtained their pardon; but Bolingbroke was convicted and executed, acknowledging the guilt of necromancy, but denying that of treason.[2] Though the duke himself does not appear to have been implicated in this ridiculous but tragical business, he must have deeply felt on account of the disgrace of his wife, and the notion generally entertained that he was looking forward to the succession for himself.

Oct. 21.

Oct. 23.

Nov. 13.

Nov. 18.

The character which the duke of Gloucester had attributed to Charles of France belonged with more justice to his own nephew, the king of England.

[1] See different payments on her account in the Pell Records, 440, 1, 8. She is described as "Eleanor Cobham, lately called duchess "of Gloucester."

[2] Wil. Wycester, 460, 461. Ellis, 2nd ser. i. 107. Stow, 379, 380. Fabyan, 438, 439. Some writers have attributed the prosecution of Dame Eleanor to Beaufort's enmity to her husband. But their assertion stands on the slightest foundation, a mere conjecture of Fox that it might be so, because the witch lived, according to Fabyan, in the neighbourhood of Winchester, of which Beaufort was bishop.—See Fuller, 174.

Henry was free from vice, but devoid of capacity. Gentle and inoffensive, he was shocked at the very shadow of injustice, but, easy and unassuming, was always ready to adopt the opinion of his advisers. He was now twenty-three years old; his council suggested that it was time he should marry; and every one foresaw that the queen, whoever she might be, would possess the control over the weak mind of her husband. When the count of Armagnac quarrelled with the king of France, it was thought that the power of that nobleman might form a bulwark of defence to the province of Guienne; and commissioners were appointed to offer to his daughter the hand of the English monarch.[1] But the transaction did not elude the vigilance of Charles, who immediately invaded the territories of the count, and made him and his family prisoners. Two years later the choice of Henry was directed towards Margaret, the daughter of Réné, king of Sicily and Jerusalem, and duke of Anjou, Maine, and Bar. In personal beauty she was thought superior to most women, in mental capacity equal to most men of the age. But it was not the charms of her person, nor the powers of her mind that recommended her to the notice of the king's ministers. She was a near relation to Charles, who had always treated her with marked partiality; and a hope was cherished that through her mediation a satisfactory and permanent peace might be established between the two kingdoms. The charge of conducting the negotiation was intrusted to William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and was accepted by him with real or affected re-

1442. May 20.

[1] Rym. vi. 6—8. Beckington's Journal, 8vo. 1828.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1442.

luctance. He professed to believe himself unequal to the task. Perhaps he feared the subsequent resentment of Gloucester, who opposed the measure; perhaps he felt uneasy under the menaces of an act of parliament, passed in the reign of Henry V., which made it highly penal in any man to conclude a peace with Charles, unless the consent of the three estates in both realms had been previously obtained. To tranquillize his mind a singular instrument was signed by the king, and approved by the parliament, which authorized the earl to conduct the treaty to the best of his abilities, and pardoned beforehand every error of judgment into which he might fall.[1] He met the duke of Orleans at Tours; a truce preparatory to a peace was concluded, and the question of the marriage repeatedly discussed. On the part of the French no opposition was raised; but several alarming difficulties suggested themselves to the mind of the English negotiator. The father of the princess with all his sounding titles was in reality a pauper. This nominal king of Jerusalem and Sicily possessed not one foot of land in either country; his duchies of Maine and Anjou were, and had long been, in the possession of the English; and his territory of Bar was mortgaged to the duke of Burgundy for the payment of his ransom. Suffolk consented to take the lady without a marriage portion. But it was asked, could the king of England think of marrying the daughter, while he kept the father out of his patrimonial dominions? The earl felt the force of the objection, but foresaw the danger of making the cession. At length he yielded; it was stipulated that Maine and Anjou should be restored;

1444. Feb. 20.

[1] Rym. xi. 53.

and at his return he prevailed on the majority of the council to approve of his conduct. In a general promotion of the chief nobility he was created marquess of Suffolk, and measuring back his steps, was solemnly contracted, as proxy for Henry, with Magaret in the cathedral of Nanci. Justs and tournaments for eight days testified the joy of the court; Charles attended his fair kinswoman some miles from the city, and parted from her in tears. Her father accompanied her to Bar le Duc. She landed at Porchester, was married to Henry at Tichfield, and crowned with the usual ceremony at Westminster.[1]

A.D. 1444. — Oct. 28. 1445. April 18. April 21. May 30.

If Henry had flattered himself that his marriage would be followed by a peace, his expectations must have been grievously disappointed. Charles had determined to exclude, if it were possible, the English from the soil of France, and would only consent to short prolongations of the armistice, that he might improve the first opportunity, which should be offered by chance, or by the imprudence of the English monarch. His hopes were encouraged by the disputes in the council of his adversary, whose ministers were too busily employed in struggles for power at home to support with vigour the national interests abroad. The queen had already gained the ascendancy over the easy mind of her husband; and Suffolk, the favourite of them both, gradually supplanted all his colleagues. The cardinal, who had retired to his bishopric soon after the last dispute with his nephew, appeared no more on the scene, unless it were to relieve the urgent wants of the crown with advances of money. Gloucester still attended the council occasionally; but, if we may believe the unauthenticated

[1] Will. Wyrces. 462, 463.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1445.

accounts of some writers, was chiefly employed in opposing the plans and protecting himself against the intrigues of the favourite. We may however question their accuracy. Certain it is that he publicly testified his approbation of the king's marriage; and that when Suffolk in parliament detailed the particulars of the treaty, and the commons petitioned Henry to approve the conduct of that minister, the duke on his knees seconded their request.[1] Of his conduct from that period we are ignorant; and our ignorance prevents us from unravelling the causes of the mysterious transaction which followed. It may be that Gloucester, harassed by the accusations of his enemies, had formed a plan to make himself master of the royal person;[2] or that Suffolk, to screen himself from the resentment of the duke, infused into the mind of Henry suspicions of the loyalty of his uncle.[3] However it were, Henry summoned a parliament to meet, not as usual at Westminster, but at Bury St. Edmund's. The precautions which were taken excited surprise, and gave birth to numerous conjectures. The knights of the shire received orders to come in arms; the men of Suffolk were arrayed; numerous guards were placed round the king's residence; and patrols during the night watched all the roads leading to the town. The duke of Glou-

June 4.

1447. Feb. 10.

[1] Rot. Parl. v. 73.

[2] We are told that he was accused in the council of illegal executions, and of having unjustly enriched himself at the expense of the crown. From a singular instrument in Rymer it appears that he had been compelled to resign some possessions in Guienne, which were immediately given to John de Foix, who had married a niece of Suffolk; both circumstances of a nature to irritate a proud and ambitious mind.—Rym. xi. 147, 22 Aug. 1446.

[3] What evidence the king had we know not; but nothing could persuade him that his uncle was innocent.—Whethamstede, 367.

cester left his castle of Devizes, and was present at the opening of parliament; the next day he was arrested in his lodgings on a charge of high treason, by the lord Beaumont, constable of England; and seventeen days later was found dead in his bed, without any exterior marks of violence. Reports were spread that he died of apoplexy, or of a broken heart; suspicion whispered that he had been privately murdered.[1] Several knights and esquires in his service, most of them Welshmen, had assembled at Greenwich on the very day of his arrest, and purposed to join him at Bury. They were, however, made prisoners, and five of their number were brought to trial, and convicted, on a charge of having conspired to release Dame Eleanor, to come to the parliament in arms, to destroy the king, and to raise Gloucester to the throne.[2] But the humanity of Henry did not permit them to suffer. He had been much affected by a sermon of Dr. Worthington, a celebrated preacher, on the forgiveness of injuries; and declared that he could not better prove his gratitude for the protec-

CHAP. I. A.D. 1447. Feb. 11. Feb. 28. July 14

[1] I am inclined to believe that he died a natural death, on the authority of Whethamstede, abbot of St. Alban's. That writer, who had received many benefits from the duke, was much attached to his memory, which he vindicates on all occasions, and equally prejudiced against his enemies, whom he calls canes, scorpions, impii susurrones (p. 366). And yet, though he wrote when the royal party was humbled in the dust, and he had of course nothing to fear from their resentment, he repeatedly asserts that the duke fell ill immediately after his arrest, and died of his illness. Fecit eum arrestari, ponique in tam arta custodia, quod præ tristitia decideret in lectum ægritudinis, et infra paucos dies posterius secederet in fata (p. 365). Of course he could not be in perfect health on the evening preceding his death, as we are told by some writers. Again, Whethamstede says: "This great warrior and "second David, præ tristitia modo deposuit arma sua, recessitque "ad regionem illam, ubi pax est et tranquilla requies sine inquie-"tudine ulla" (p. 366); also Hardyng, 400.

[2] Rym. xi. 178. Ellis, 2nd ser. i. 108.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1447.

tion afforded to him by the Almighty, than by pardoning, in obedience to the Divine command, the persons who, so he believed, had plotted his destruction.[1] Dame Eleanor, on account of "her former misgovernment of herself," was rendered by act of parliament incapable of claiming as the duke's widow,[2] and a great part of his estates was distributed among the marquess of Suffolk, and Suffolk's relatives and adherents.[3] But Gloucester, though he had no issue, left many friends, who laboured to clear his memory from the stain of treason. In each successive parliament they introduced a bill declaratory of his loyalty; but no arguments could subdue the conviction or prejudice of the king; the bill was repeatedly thrown out by the influence of the crown; and, if the attempt at last succeeded, it was through the influence of the duke of York, when he had forcibly invested himself with the powers of government.[4]

[1] They were, however, tied up, instantly cut down, stripped and marked for dismemberment by the knife of the executioner. At that moment Suffolk announced to them the king's mercy.—Stowe, 386. This pardon, however, has been represented, on mere conjecture, as an artifice of Suffolk to lessen the odium which he had incurred by the murder of Gloucester. But it is well known that Henry's humanity abhorred the punishment usually inflicted for treason. One day seeing the quarter of a person, who had been executed, fixed on the Tower, he exclaimed: "Take it away. It is "a shame to use any Christian so cruelly on my account."—Blackman, 301. In the present case the king asserts that the pardon had not been suggested to him by any person, either layman or clergyman, but that it originated from religious considerations, principally because God seemed to have taken the cause into his own hands, having during the late year "touched and stricken "certain of those who had been disloyal to him;" supremus judex nonnullas personas nobis infideles tetigit et percussit.—Rym. xi. 178. Who were the persons whom God had stricken? Of course Gloucester was one; and the expression is a proof that in the opinion of Henry he died a natural death; for this religious prince would never have used it, if the duke had been murdered. But who were the others?

[2] Rot. Parl. v. 135.

[3] Rym. xi. 158.

[4] Whethamstede, 367, 368.

Within six weeks Gloucester was followed to the grave by his uncle and former competitor, Cardinal Beaufort. That prelate, since his retirement from court, had resided in his diocese, and applied himself to the exercise of his functions. That he expired in the agonies of despair, is a fiction, which we owe to the imagination of Shakspeare; from an eye-witness we learn that during a lingering illness he devoted most of his time to religious exercises.[1] According to the provisions of his will, his wealth was chiefly distributed in charitable donations; no less a sum than four thousand pounds was set aside for the relief of the indigent prisoners in the capital; and the hospital of St. Cross, in the vicinity of Winchester, still exists a durable monument of his munificence.[2]

April 11.

[1] Hall tells us that, according to his chaplain John Baker, he lamented on his death-bed that money could not purchase life; and that death should cut him off when he hoped, now his nephew Gloucester was gone, to procure the papal tiara.—Hall, p. 152. It is not, however, probable that such an idea could be entertained by a man eighty years of age, and labouring under a mortal disease. Three weeks after the death of the duke, the cardinal ordered himself to be carried into the great hall of his palace of Wolvesey, where the clergy of the city and the monks of the cathedral were assembled. There he sat or lay, while a dirge was sung, the funeral ceremony performed, and his will publicly read. The next morning they assembled again: a mass of requiem was celebrated, and his will was again read with the addition of several codicils. He then took leave of all, and was carried back to his chamber. What was the object of this singular ceremony I know not; but it was much admired by the writer, who was present; and sufficiently disproves the story of his having died in despair.—Cont. Hist. Croyl. 582.

[2] His executor offered the king a present of 2,000*l.* Henry refused it, saying, "He was always a most kind uncle to me, while "he lived. God reward him! Fulfil his intentions. I will not take "his money." It was bestowed on the two colleges founded by the king at Eton and in Cambridge.—Blackm. 294. It should be remembered that the cardinal received no interest on the moneys which he lent to the king: whatever benefit he could derive from them, seems to have arisen from the forfeiture of pledges if not redeemed, and the repayment in gold instead of silver coin. Thus he demands

CHAP. I. A.D. 1447.

The deaths of the duke and the cardinal removed the two firmest supports of the house of Lancaster, and awakened the ambition of Richard, duke of York, who by the paternal line was sprung from Edward Langley, the youngest son of Edward III., and by the maternal had become, after the death of the earl of March, in 1424, the representative of Lionel, the third son of the same monarch. But, if he now began to turn his eyes towards the throne, he had the prudence to conceal his intentions till the incapacity of Henry, or the imprudence of his ministers, should offer him an opportunity of seizing the splendid prize. He had been appointed regent of France during five years; but the duke of Somerset, who sought to succeed to the influence of his relatives, the late cardinal and the duke of Gloucester, expressed a wish to possess that command; and York was reluctantly induced to exchange it for the government of Ireland. The affront sank deep into his breast; he began to consider Somerset as a rival; and, to prepare himself for the approaching contest, sought to win by affability and munificence the affections of the Irish.

If Henry felicitated himself on the acquisition of so accomplished and beautiful a wife, his dreams of happiness were disturbed by the murmurs of the people. It was said that his union with Margaret had been purchased at too great a price; that no minister could be authorized to give away the in-

"that paiement be maad in golde of the coigne of Englond of juste "weighte: elles I not to be bounde to delyver ayene the seide weddes "(pledges) though the seide paiement were offrede to be maad in "silver." The king in consequence orders the treasurer to make repayment "en ore a nos coustages."—Acts of Coun. iv. 234, 248.

heritance of the crown; and that the cession of Anjou and Maine, the keys of Normandy, would inevitably draw after it the loss of all the conquests made by the king's father. At first these complaints were despised; insensibly they grew louder and more frequent; and Suffolk for his own protection demanded to be confronted with his accusers in presence of the king and the council. His request was granted; the pleadings of each party were heard; and the favourite, as was to be expected, triumphed in the judgment of Henry. A proclamation was published, declaring Suffolk to have acted the part of a true and loyal servant, and imposing silence on his accusers under the penalty of losing the offices which they held under the crown.[1] Still, however, obstacles were opposed to the cession of Maine by the persons holding grants of land in that country; and Charles, weary of the tergiversation of the English government, resolved to cut the knot with the sword, and invested the capital of the province with an army. Henry was in no condition to recommence the war; and the bishop of Chichester hastened to the scene of hostilities; surrendered the whole province with the exception of Fresnoi, and obtained in return a truce to last two years, and an assurance that the grantees of the English crown should receive from France a sum of money equal to ten years' value of the lands which they had lost. At the same time a protestation was made, that Henry did not resign his right to the sovereignty of the province, but only its actual possession, on condition that the revenue might be enjoyed by the father and uncle of his queen.[2]

May 25.

June 17.

1448. March 11.

[1] Rym. xi. 173.

[2] Ibid. 203—6.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1448.

Maine was soon filled with French troops, and the duke, alarmed at their approach, represented to the council that almost every fortress under his command had been suffered to fall into ruins; that the three estates of Normandy had, under the plea of poverty, refused any aid; and that, unless speedy and plentiful assistance were furnished from England, the province would in all probability be lost.[1] Charles, however, did not allow his adversaries time to furnish such assistance. It had chanced that the soldiers, who had withdrawn from the ceded territory, finding themselves without quarters and without subsistence, surprised and pillaged Fougéres, a town in Bretagne. Somerset, aware of the consequences, hastened to disavow the act; and Charles, with equal promptitude, demanded instant and satisfactory reparation. As, however, such reparation would have deprived him of a decent pretext for war before the end of the armistice, he was careful to estimate the damages at one million six hundred thousand crowns, a sum which he knew could not be raised. While the English envoys were offering excuses and remonstrances, Pont de l'Arche, a fortress within twelve miles of Rouen, was surprised by a small band of adventurers, and a proposal was made to exchange it for Fougéres. This might have been accepted; but the indemnification of sixteen hundred thousand crowns was still demanded and refused; and the king and the duke of Bretagne resolved to unite their forces, and sweep the English from the soil of France. The campaign opened with the surprisal of Verneuil through the treachery of a townsman; soon afterwards Dunois, commonly called

March 24.

May 16.

1449. July 29.

[1] Rot. Parl. 147.

the bastard of Orleans took the command; and within two months one-half of Normandy was in his possession. The duke of Somerset, surrounded with dissaffection and treason, unable to face the enemy in the field, and forbidden to hope for assistance from England, was compelled to shut himself up in the capital, and to behold from the walls of the castle the fall of the fortresses around him. Encouraged by his correspondents within the city, Dunois approached with his army; at the end of three days he decamped, was recalled by his friends, and had the satisfaction to see the walls scaled by his men between two towers, which had been intrusted to the care of the citizens. Rouen would that day have been taken, had not Talbot hastened with his banner to the spot, hurled the enemy into the ditch, and put the guards to the sword. But a garrison of twelve hundred men could not protect an extensive and populous city against a powerful army without, and a still more dangerous enemy within. The duke with a guard of sixty men was surrounded in the street by more than eight hundred armed citizens, who extorted his assent to their proposal of treating with Charles. It was agreed between the archbishop and the king that Rouen should open its gates, that the English should retire with all their effects, and that such as should prefer it might remain unmolested. The duke, however, refused these terms, and was besieged by the citizens and the French troops in the citadel. After two fruitless attempts to obtain the conditions which had been rejected, he consented to pay fifty-six thousand francs, to surrender most of the fortresses in the district of Caux for his ransom and that of his companions, and to deliver Talbot and several other

Oct. 16.

Oct. 18.

Nov. 4.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1449.

knights as hostages for the faithful performance of his engagements.[1]

At length, the English ministry made a feeble attempt to succour the duke, who had fixed his head-quarters at Caen; and Sir Thomas Kyriel, having landed with three thousand men, and drawn about an equal number from the neighbouring garrisons, marched forward to join that commander. But near Fourmigni he was intercepted by the earl of Clermont; and after a contest of three hours, his men were alarmed by the arrival of a new army under the constable of France. Some saved themselves by flight; the rest, after a bloody resistance, were either slain or made prisoners. As this was the first victory which, for many years, had been gained over the English in the open field, the account was industriously circulated throughout France, and was everywhere received with the loudest acclamations of joy. Avranches, Bayeux, Valonges, immediately opened their gates; the duke was besieged in Caen; the town, after several breaches had been made, surrendered; and a capitulation was concluded for the citadel, unless it were relieved within a certain period. Cherbourg alone remained to the English; it was taken after a short siege; and within the space of a year and six days, Normandy, with its seven bishoprics and one hundred fortresses, was entirely recovered by the French monarch.[2]

1450. April 1.

April 18.

June 5.

July 1.

August 12.

Charles however was not satisfied with the conquest of Normandy; the moment Cherbourg surrendered, his army began its march towards Guienne. The inhabitants were by principle attached to the

[1] Monstrel. iii. 721. Hall, 163, 164. Will. Wyrcest. 465.
[2] Monstrel. iii. 21—32. Hall, 165, 166. Will. Wyrcest. 469.

descendant of their ancient dukes; but the absence of succour, and the pressure of immediate danger, induced the most opulent to submit, as the only means of preserving their honours and property. Not a man was sent from England for the protection of the duchy; not a battle was fought to expel the invaders; not a governor defended his charge against the enemy. Uniformly each fortress, as soon as a respectable force made its appearance, was surrendered. Before Christmas all the territory on the banks of the Dordogne had fallen into the possession of Charles; by the following August the French banner waved in triumph, from the mouth of the Garonne to the very borders of Spain. When nothing but Calais remained to England, Charles offered to treat of peace. The proposal was rejected with an idle threat, that Henry would never sheath his sword till he should have reconquered all that had been lost.[1]

CHAP. J. A.D. 1450. — 1451.

The public mind had been sufficiently exasperated by the cession of Maine and Anjou; but when that cession was followed by the invasion of Normandy; when each messenger brought fresh accounts of the rapid progress of the enemy; every tongue was employed in bewailing the fallen glory of England, and every place resounded with cries of vengeance on the head of the minister. He was described as the queen's minion, who, to please a foreign mistress, did not hesitate to betray his sovereign, and to sacrifice the inheritance of the crown. To him were attributed the release of the duke of Orleans, the death of the duke of Gloucester, the poverty of the treasury, and all the calamities which had befallen the English

[1] Monstrel. iii. 32—38. Hall, 161. 162.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1449.

arms on the continent. In this state of public opinion a parliament had been called to provide for the defence of Normandy; but it had hardly assembled, when the news of the loss of Rouen arrived to inflame the discontent of the people, and to multiply the embarrassments of the government. Six weeks were spent in violent but useless altercation; and nothing more was concluded before the holidays than to send Sir Thomas Kyriel with a small force to the aid of the duke of Somerset. But during the recess two events occurred which foreboded the ruin of Suffolk. One evening William Tailbois was discovered lurking with several armed men near the door of the council-chamber. It was in vain that the favourite took him under his protection. Tailbois was committed to the Tower at the requisition of the lord Cromwell, the most active among the enemies of the minister; was tried on a charge of plotting the death of that nobleman, and was condemned to pay him damages to the amount of three thousand pounds.[1] Soon afterwards the bishop of Chichester, keeper of the privy seal, proceeded to Portsmouth to pay the soldiers and sailors engaged for the expedition; but it was no sooner known that he was the man who had delivered Maine to the French king, than the populace rose, and the prelate lost his life in the tumult.[2] Whether it was that this prelate sought to divert their indignation from himself, or that the story was invented by the opponents of Suffolk, he is said to have declared before his death that the favourite was a traitor, who had sold Maine to the enemy, and had boasted of having as much influence in the French as in the English council. It was thought necessary

Nov. 6.

Dec. 24.

1450. Jan. 9.

[1] Will. Wyrcest. 466, 467.

[2] Will. Wyrcest. 467.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1450. Jan. 22.

that the duke (he had lately been raised to that dignity) should notice this report; and as soon as the parliament assembled after the recess, rising in his place, he besought the king to recollect that his father had died in the service of his country at Harfleur, his elder brother had fallen in the battle of Azincourt, his second and third brothers had perished at Jargeau, and his youngest brother had expired a hostage in France; that he himself had been a knight of the garter thirty years, had spent thirty-four years in arms, during one-half of which time he had never visited his native country; that he had been fifteen years sworn of the king's council; that he was born in England; that his inheritance, and the inheritance of his children and posterity, lay in this country. Was it then possible, he asked, that for any promises of an enemy he could become a traitor? "Where-"upon," he added, "I beseech your highness in the "most humble wise I can bethink, that if any man "will charge me with the report aforesaid, or any "other thing against your royal person and land, he "may come forth, and say to me in these matters "what he wills; and that in your presence, my "sovereign lord, I may be heard in my excusations "and defences reasonable, the which I trust shall "be so open and so plain, that your highness and your "land shall be content of me; for God knoweth I "am, and shall be, and never was other but true to "you, sovereign lord, and to your lands." At his request the speech was entered on the rolls.[1]

But by this time his enemies in the lower house had formed themselves into a powerful party, which was entirely, though secretly, guided by the counsels of

[1] Rot. Parl. v. 176.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1450

the lord Cromwell.[1] Four days after the duke had so solemnly declared his innocence, a deputation from the commons requested, that since, according to his own confession, he lay under suspicion of treason, he might be immediately committed to the Tower. But the lords, having consulted the judges, replied that they had no power to order any peer into confinement, unless some specific charge were brought against him. Two days later, the speaker returned, and accused him of having furnished the castle of Wallingford with stores and provisions for the purpose of aiding the king of France, who, he pretended, was then making preparations to invade the country. On this incredible and ridiculous charge he was arrested, and confined in the Tower. The archbishop of Canterbury immediately resigned the office of chancellor, which was given to the cardinal archbishop of York.[2]

Jan. 26.

Jan. 28.

Ten days were employed in framing the bill of impeachment, which, when it was finished, left the delinquency of the prisoner more problematical than before. Most, indeed, of our ancient writers, borne along by the torrent of popular prejudice, have pronounced him guilty; but the improbability or insufficiency of the eight articles of treason alleged against him will establish his innocence in the mind of the impartial reader. The first, and therefore we may suppose the most important charge, was, that he had plotted to dethrone the king, and place the crown on the head of his own son, whom for that purpose he intended to marry to the only daughter of the late duke of Somerset, that he might be allied to the royal family; and that for this purpose he had solicited the

Feb. 7.

[1] Domino Cromwell secrete laborante.—Will. Wyrcest. 467.
[2] Rot. Parl. v. 172, 175, 177.

aid of the French king. Next followed the usual charges of his having liberated the duke of Orleans against the opinion of the council, and surrendered Maine and Anjou without consulting his colleagues; and the weakness of these accusations was bolstered up with vague assertions, that he had betrayed the king's secrets, and conveyed intelligence to the king's enemies. Sensible, however, of their inability to prove these eight articles, the commons a month afterwards sent to the lords a new impeachment, in which the duke was charged with misprision of treason under sixteen heads, by improvident waste of the public money; by diverting the supplies from the purposes for which they had been originally voted; by advising the king to impoverish himself by unnecessary grants; by bestowing offices under the crown on suspicious or disloyal persons; and by screening from the pursuit of justice a notorious outlaw, named William Tailbois. The duke was now removed from his prison to a tower in the garden of the palace, that he might be nearer to the place of trial.[1]

March 7.

On the day appointed for his answer he was introduced into the house of lords, and falling on his knees before the king, solemnly declared his innocence. To the first article he replied that it was ridiculous and impossible, and appealed to several of the peers present, who knew that he intended to marry his son to a daughter of the earl of Warwick. For the cession of Anjou and Maine, if it were a crime, he

March 13.

[1] Rot. Parl. v. 174—182. Will. Wyrcest. 468. In neither of these impeachments is there any allusion to the death of the duke of Gloucester, a pretty plain proof that there was no evidence of his having been murdered.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1450.

was not more responsible than the other lords of the council, or the other peers of the parliament; since the first had authorized, the second had approved the measure. The remaining charges, he contended, were frivolous and vexatious, resting on no other proof than the reports raised by his enemies, or on acts of the council, emanating from many of his judges equally with himself. The second impeachment he did not notice.[1]

But whatever might be the guilt or innocence of Suffolk, it was evident that his enemies thirsted for his blood; nor would the commons grant any supply till their cry for vengeance had been appeased. It became therefore the policy of the court to devise the means of satisfying them without endangering

March 17.

his life. He was again called before the king and lords; and the chancellor, observing that he had not claimed the privilege of the peerage, asked if he had anything more to say in his defence. It was his hope, he replied, that he had sufficiently established his innocence; he had shown that the charges against him were false, and some of them impossible; he had denied the facts, the times, the places, and the conversations; he repeated that he was as ignorant of them as "the child still in the mother's womb," and therefore threw himself without reserve on the will of his sovereign. The chancellor immediately resumed: "Sir, since you do not put yourself on your peerage "for trial, the king will not hold you either guilty or "innocent of the treasons with which you have been "charged; but with respect to the second impeach-"ment, not as a judge advised by the lords, but as one "to whose control you have voluntarily submitted,

[1] Rot. Parl. v. 182.

"he commands you to quit this land before the first "of May, and forbids you ever to set your foot during "the five next years on his dominions either in this "kingdom or beyond the sea." The lords immediately protested by the mouth of the constable, the viscount Beaumont, that this was the act of the king alone, and should form no precedent to bar them or their heirs of the privilege of the peerage. The parliament was soon afterwards prorogued, to meet again in a month's time in the city of Leicester.[1]

During these proceedings the public mind had been kept in a continual ferment; and, as soon as the king's decision was published, the most incredible reports were circulated, inflammatory libels were affixed to the doors of the churches, and the life of the duke was openly threatened.[2] To intercept him on his discharge from confinement two thousand persons assembled in St. Giles's; but though they surprised his servants, the object of their hatred fortunately escaped, and proceeded to his estates in the county of Suffolk.[3] On the day fixed for his departure he assembled the knights and esquires of the neighbourhood, and in their presence swore on the sacrament that he was innocent of the crimes with which he had been charged by his enemies.[4] At the same time he wrote to his son a most eloquent and affectionate letter, laying down rules for his conduct, and incul-

March 18.

April 30

[1] Rot. Parl. v. 182, 183. If the king ordered this judgment to be pronounced of his own authority, it was certainly illegal: but it appears to have been in consequence of a compromise between the two parties. Wyrcester says it was with the consent of parliament (p. 468); and the continuator of the history of Croyland hints that Suffolk's enemies intended to make away with him before he could leave the realm—Insidias ei ponentes ad tempus (p. 525).

[2] Rym. xi. 268.

[3] Will. Wyrcest. 468.

[4] Will. Wyrcest. 469.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1450.

cating in the most forcible terms the duty of piety towards God, loyalty to the king, and obedience to his mother.[1] Whoever has read this affecting composition will find it difficult to persuade himself that the writer could have been either a false subject or a bad man.[2] He sailed from Ipswich with two small vessels, and sent a pinnace before him to inquire whether he might be permitted to land in the harbour of Calais. But the pinnace was captured by a squadron of men-of-war; and immediately the Nicholas of the Tower, one of the largest ships in the navy, bore down on the duke's vessels. He was ordered on board, and received on deck by the captain with the ominous salutation of "Welcome, traitor." It is probable that a messenger was sent on shore to announce his capture, and require instructions; for the duke remained two nights in the Nicholas, during which he spent much of his time in conversation with his confessor, wrote a long letter to the king, and underwent a mock trial before the sailors, by whom he

May 2.

was condemned to suffer death.[3] On the second morning a small boat came alongside, in which were a block, a rusty sword, and an executioner; the duke was lowered into it; and the man, telling him that he should die like a knight, at the sixth stroke smote off his head. His remains were placed on the sands near Dover, and watched by the sheriff of Kent, till the king ordered them to be delivered to his widow, by whom they were interred in the collegiate church of Wingfield in Suffolk.

[1] She was grand-daughter of Chaucer the poet.

[2] It is published among Fenn's original Letters, i. 33.

[3] Will Wyrcest. 469, 477. Croyl. cont. 525. Two letters, apud Fenn. i. 38—45. It may be observed that there are many mistakes in the remarks of the editor on these letters.

From the preceding narrative it is evident that there existed a party which had sworn the destruction of this unfortunate nobleman. Not deterred by the failure of the prosecution in parliament, nor by the escape of their victim from St. Giles's, they even despatched an armed force to assassinate him at sea. But of the leaders of this party we know no more than that they were persons of the first consideration in the state; and of their immediate motives we are entirely ignorant. By some writers the murder has been attributed to disappointed ambition, which could not brook the ascendancy of the favourite in the councils of his sovereign; by others to the policy of the duke of York, who deemed it necessary to remove so faithful a minister before he should openly take any measure to place himself on the throne. The last hypothesis has been thought to derive confirmation from the fact, that some of the noblemen, who afterwards espoused his interests, came to the parliament at Leicester, accompanied by hundreds of armed men.[1]

The news of this tragical event plunged the king and queen into the deepest distress: in a few days they were awakened from their sorrow by the danger which threatened themselves. Whether the men who had taken the life of Suffolk had any part in kindling this flame which now burst forth, or whether it sprung spontaneously from the irritation of the public mind, it is difficult to determine. Intelligence had just arrived of the defeat of Sir Thomas Kyriel; the

[1] "Upon the iiiith day of this monthe the erle of Deveneschire "come hydre wt. iiic. men well byseen, and upon the morrow after "my lord of Warrewyke wt. iiiic. and moo. Leycestr the vi. day "of May."—Fenn's Letters, i. 44, 46.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1450. commons in several counties threatened to rise and reform the government; and the people of Kent were goaded to madness by repeated rumours of the signal vengeance which Henry had determined to inflict on them for having furnished the ships which
May 28. intercepted his friend. It was a crisis most favourable to the views of artful and designing men; and an Irish adventurer whose real name was John Cade, but who had assumed that of Mortimer, cousin to the duke of York, seized the moment to unfurl the
June 17. standard of insurrection. At the head of twenty thousand men he marched to Blackheath. Henry instantly dissolved the parliament, and summoning his forces, advanced to London.[1] Many messages
June 20. passed between the king and the feigned Mortimer, who delivered the wishes of his followers in two papers, entitled "The Complaints of the Commons "of Kent," and "The Requests by the Captain of the "great Assembly in Kent." The complaints stated that the king purposed to punish the men of Kent for a murder of which they were not guilty; that he gave away the revenues of the crown, and took for his own maintenance the goods of the people; that he excluded from his council the lords of his own blood, to make place for men of low rank, who oppressed his subjects; that the sheriffs, under-sheriffs, and collectors of taxes, were guilty of intolerable extortions; that in the election of knights of the shire the free choice of the people was superseded by the influence of the lords; and that numerous delays and impediments had been introduced to prevent the speedy administration of justice. Their "requests" demanded, that the relatives of the duke

[1] Will. Wyrcest. 469, 470.

of Suffolk should be banished from the court, and the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, with the earls and barons, be employed about the king's person; that the traitors should be punished who contrived the death of the duke of Gloucester, of the holy father the cardinal, of the duke of Exeter, and of the duke of Warwick, and who occasioned the loss of Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, and Maine; and that all extortions should be abolished, and the great extortioners, Sleg, Cromer, Lisle, and Robert Est, be brought to justice.[1]

Henry had levied between fifteen and twenty thousand men, with whom he marched to suppress the insurgents; but Cade withdrew before the king's arrival, and was pursued by a detachment of royalists under Sir Humphrey Stafford. At Sevenoaks he turned on his pursuers, put them to flight, killed their commander, and arrayed himself in the knight's armour. When the news was brought to Blackheath, the royalists began to waver; the requests of the Kentish men they now thought reasonable; and it was asked why they should fight against their own countrymen, who had taken up arms in defence of the national liberties. At the persuasion of the lords, who distrusted, or pretended to distrust, the fidelity of their followers, Henry sent to the Tower his chamberlain the lord Say, one of the most obnoxious ministers, disbanded his forces, and retired to the castle of Kenilworth. Lord Scales, with a thousand men, undertook the defence of the Tower; Cade resumed his former position on Blackheath, and two days later took possession of Southwark.[2]

June 23.

June 24.

June 29.

July 1.

[1] See both these instruments in Stowe, 388—390.

[2] Will. Wyrcest. 470. Fab. 449, 450.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1450.

The mayor had summoned a common council, in which, after a long debate, it was resolved to offer no resistance; and in the afternoon Cade entered in martial array, cutting with his sword the ropes of the drawbridge as he passed. He preserved the strictest discipline among his followers, and in the evening, to prevent disorder, led them back into the Borough.

July 3.

July 4.

He acted in the same manner the next day; but compelled the mayor and judges to sit in the Guildhall; and having, by some means which are not mentioned, got possession of Lord Say, arraigned him before them. Bills of indictment were immediately found against the prisoner, the duchess of Suffolk, the bishop of Salisbury, Thomas Daniel, and several others, who in the parliament at Leicester had been pointed out as the accomplices of the late minister. Fortunately the rest were absent; Lord Say pleaded the privilege of the peerage, but was hurried to the standard in Cheapside, and immediately beheaded. His son-in-law Cromer, sheriff of Kent, was soon afterwards discovered, and underwent the same fate.[1]

On the third day a few houses were pillaged; and the citizens fearing the same violence on the next morning, determined with the assistance of Lord Scales to defend the bridge and exclude the insur-

July 5.

gents. Cade received intelligence of their design, and a bloody conflict ensued during the night; sometimes the citizens, sometimes the men of Kent prevailed;

[1] Will. Wyrcest. 471. Fab. 451. But the bishop of Salisbury had suffered already. He had been pointed out to public resentment by the commons at Leicester, and on the 29th of June was seized by his own tenants at Eddington, just as he had finished mass, was dragged out of the church in his vestments, and carried to an eminence, where one of them clove his skull with a bill.—Fab. 448, 453. Stowe, 392.

but at the end of six hours, the royalists were in possession of the bridge, and a short truce was taken by mutual consent. The archbishops of Canterbury and York, who were in the Tower, deemed this a favourable moment to divide the insurgents; and the bishop of Winchester, crossing the river, carried with him pardons under the great seal for all who should immediately return to their own homes.[1] The offer, after some demur, was gratefully accepted, and the army immediately dispersed. Cade, however, repenting of his credulity, again unfurled his banner, and found men prepared to rejoin it. But their number was too small to attack the city; they retired from Southwark through Deptford to Rochester, and there quarrelled among themselves respecting the partition of their plunder. The captain in despair mounted his horse, and fled in the direction of Lewes, but was hotly pursued by Iden, the sheriff of Kent, and taken and beheaded in a garden at Heyfield.[2] The chief of his followers were afterwards executed; of whom some, if we may believe a subsequent act of attainder against the duke of York, confessed on the scaffold that it had been their intention to place that prince on the throne.[3]

July 8. July 9. July 11.

During his absence the interests of the duke had been intrusted to the care of his friends; now it was

[1] Will. Wyrcest. 470. Fenn's Letters. 60. Fab. 452, 453.

[2] That Cade accepted the pardon, but afterwards repented of it, is stated in the proclamation against him, dated July 10.—Apud Stowe, p. 391. Hence in his attainder no mention is made of any act of treason committed by him before the 8th of July.—Rot. Parl. v. 224. Iden conveyed the dead body to London for the satisfaction of the king and council, and claimed the reward of 1,000 marks for himself and his companions, according to the promise in the king's proclamation.—Rym. xi. 275. Pell Records, 467.

[3] Rot. Parl. v. 346.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1450.

deemed time that he should appear on the scene in person. Leaving his government of Ireland without permission, he landed in England, and to the terror of the court, hastened towards London with a retinue

Sept. 1.

of four thousand men. On his road through Northamptonshire he sent for William Tresham, the speaker of the late house of commons, a partisan who had distinguished himself by his zeal in the prosecution of Suffolk; but Tresham had hardly left his own home when he was intercepted and murdered by a party of armed men belonging to the lord Grey of Ruthyn, probably in revenge of the part which he had acted in procuring the death of the late minister. York pursued his journey, was introduced to Henry, behaved with insolence in his presence, extorted a promise that he would summon a parliament, and in the interval before its meeting retired to his castle of

Sept. 30.

Fotheringay.[1] He was scarcely gone, when the duke

October.

of Somerset returned from France. The king and queen hailed his arrival as a blessing. He was the nearest of kin to Henry,[2] and it was hoped that his fidelity and services would prove a counterpoise to the ambition of Richard. But unfortunately he came from the loss of Normandy, and in the opinion of the people was already numbered among those who were

[1] "Unto youre presence, and there bette down the speres and "walles in your chamber," &c.—Ibid.

[2]
John of Ghent, duke of Lancaster.
|
John Beaufort, earl of Somerset.
|
Henry, earl of Somerset, died young. | John, duke of Somerset, died 1444. | Edmund, duke of Somerset.

supposed to have sold to the enemy the inheritance of the crown.[1]

Nov. 6.

The session of parliament was unquiet and stormy. The rival leaders boldly opposed each other; and though the life of Somerset was threatened, though his treasures were pillaged by the populace, his opponents could not obtain any decided advantage. Young, one of the members for Bristol, moved that as Henry was without children, the duke of York should be declared heir-apparent; but the motion met with very feeble support, and the mover was afterwards committed to the Tower.[2] A bill was carried through the lower house to attaint the memory of the duke of Suffolk, and another to remove from the court the duke of Somerset, and the duchess of Suffolk, and most of the king's friends; but Henry refused his assent to the first,[3] and replied to the other, that he could not dispense with the services of the lords, and a few others who had for years been near his person, but would order the rest to absent themselves for twelve months, during which their conduct might be investigated, if any charge could be made against them.[4] At the same time the duchess

[1] Will. Wyrcest. 473. Rot. Parl. v. 211.

[2] Will. Wyrcest. 475.

[3] In this bill was adopted the language of the Kentish insurgents; that Suffolk had been the cause of the arrest and death of the duke of Gloucester; and of "abridging the days of other princes of the "blood."—Rot. Parl. v. 226. Yet while he was alive, they never ventured to produce these charges; an omission which, considering all the circumstances, is a proof of Suffolk's innocence. The other princes mentioned in Cade's memorial were, the duke of Warwick, who was descended from Edmund Langley, duke of York, and died 11th June, 1445; Cardinal Beaufort, who died April 11th, 1447; and Holland, duke of Exeter, who had married the grand-daughter of the duke of Gloucester, and died 5th of August, 1447.

[4] Rot. Parl. v. 216.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1450. of Suffolk, and the persons indicted of treason at the Guildhall during the insurrection, demanded to be brought to trial, and were instantly acquitted.[1]

1451. During the parliament the duke of York held frequent consultations with his friends; the result of which was a determination to appeal to the sword on the first favourable occasion.[2] For several months the nation was agitated by quarrels between the adherents of the two parties, by acts of violence and bloodshed, and by fruitless attempts to effect a reconciliation.[3] At length the duke repaired to the castle of Ludlow; and while, under the pretext of opposing the pernicious projects of the duke of Somerset, he raised the tenants of the house of Mortimer in the marches of Wales, published a proclamation containing

[1] The duchess was tried before the peers, according to an act passed in 1442 (Rot. Parl. v. 56); the rest before the judges.—Will. Wyrcest. 475. The murderers of Tresham were outlawed.—Rot. Parl. 211.

[2] He had married Cecily, daughter of Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, and grand-daughter of John of Ghent. This marriage secured to him the services of the earl of Salisbury, and the lords Falconberg, Bergavenny, and Latimer, the brothers of his wife. He was also supported by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Devon, and the lords Cromwell and Cobham.

[3] I have omitted in the text the three principal events of the year, as, in our ignorance of their causes, it is difficult to connect them together. 1. In the spring the earl of Devon beseiged the castle of Taunton, held by the lord Bonville, a royalist. The duke of York joined the earl, and Bonville surrendered.—Wyrcest. 475. 2. In August, Thomas Nevil, son of the earl of Salisbury, married a niece of Lord Cromwell. In returning from the marriage, Percy lord Egrement quarrelled with the earl of Salisbury near York. It was, says the writer, the commencement of the greatest calamities to England.—Id. p. 476. 3. A great council was held at Coventry. Several men were killed in an affray between the servants of Somerset and the armed townsmen. It was proposed to arrest the duke of York. The duke of Buckingham, a staunch loyalist, prevented it. It was agreed that all differences should be left to the decision of the peers.—Id. 476. Fenn's Letters, i. 26. The editor appears to me to have affixed to this letter a wrong date.

strong professions of loyalty, and offered to swear fealty to Henry on the sacrament before the bishop of Hereford and the earl of Shrewsbury. The king at the head of an army immediately marched against him; but York, avoiding the direction of the royalists, advanced to London by a different road, and finding the gates shut against him, proceeded as far as Dartford, in the hope of alluring to his standard the men of Kent. Henry followed him, and from Blackheath sent the bishops of Winchester and Ely to demand an explanation of his conduct. The duke's answer began with the usual protestation of his loyalty; he then complained that both before his departure to Ireland, and since his return to England, attempts had been made to arrest him for treason; and concluded with asserting that he was come to vindicate his innocence, and set the question at rest for ever. The king in reply reminded him, that since he had unlawfully slain the bishop of Chichester,[1] his adherents had openly boasted of his pretended claim to the succession, whence it was not surprising if the advisers of the crown should occasionally adopt measures of precaution; but added, that to set his mind at ease on that subject, he still held him to be a true and faithful subject, and his own well-beloved cousin. York now demanded that all persons "noised or "indicted of treason" should be apprehended and imprisoned in the Tower till they could be brought to trial; and the king replied that a new council should be appointed, in which *he* should be included, and that all matters in debate should be decided by the

Jan. 9.

Feb. 16.

[1] The murder of the bishop at Portsmouth was attributed to the emissaries of the duke.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1452.

majority of that council.[1] To satisfy him, however, he ordered the duke of Somerset into custody; on which York disbanded his army, and submitted to

March 1. visit Henry in his tent unarmed and bareheaded. There the two rivals met; the charge of treason was retorted from one to the other; and York, the moment he left the king, was arrested. Had the advice of Somerset been followed, he would have been brought to his trial, or terrified into a confession, and executed. But Henry recoiled from the idea of shedding the blood of a relation; the report that the earl of March was advancing with an army to liberate his father, intimidated the council, and an offer of his liberty was made to him on condition that he would again swear fealty to the king. He took the oath on the sacrament in St. Paul's before the lords and a numerous audience, and was permitted to retire to his castle at Wigmore.[2]

At this moment, when Henry was relieved from all apprehension of a contest for the throne, arrived a deputation from the inhabitants of Guienne; who, impatient under the load of taxation imposed upon them by their new sovereign, offered to renew their allegiance, and solicited the aid of an English army. The invitation was accepted with eagerness, and the command given to Talbot, the veteran earl of Shrews-

Oct. 17. bury, who had reached his eightieth year. With four thousand men he sailed to Guienne; his son, lord Lisle, brought him a reinforcement of an equal number; and before winter Bordeaux, with the whole of

[1] These instruments have been preserved by Stowe, 393—395. The last is also in Fenn, i. 65.

[2] See the oath in Stowe, 395; Whethamstede, 349, and Rot. Parl. v. 346.

the Bordelais, and Chatillon in Perigord, had submitted. The next spring he opened the campaign with the capture of the town of Fronsac; but there the tide of victory turned; the French marshals Loheac and Jalagnes advanced with twenty-two thousand men; and the count of Penthièvre invested the important fortress of Chatillon. Talbot hastened to its relief; early in the morning he surprised and defeated a numerous body of the enemy; but the fugitives gave the alarm, and the French retired into an intrenched camp, lined with three hundred pieces of cannon.[1] Talbot, yielding to the ardour of his followers, ordered an assault; and his opponents were seen to waver, when the count of Penthièvre, arriving with a new body of men determined the fate of the battle. The English commander, who had his horse killed under him, and his leg broken, was slain as he lay on the field, with a bayonet; his son, though repeatedly urged to retire, fell in attempting to rescue his father; and the army, after the death of its leader, dispersed in every direction. A thousand men, who had fought their way into the fortress, were made prisoners.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1452. — 1453. July 20.

From Chatillon Charles, who now took the command, pursued his victorious career till he reached the gates of Bordeaux. That city was obstinately defended by six thousand armed citizens, and four thousand English; but famine compelled them to surrender after a siege of seven weeks, on condition that the English should retire with all their property, and the natives, with a few exceptions, should be

Oct. 19.

[1] Æneas Sylv. Oper. p. 441. He says these bombards had been brought on carriages, and discharged three hundred stones into the midst of the English.

CHAP. I A.D. 1453.

received under the protection of the conqueror. From that moment Guienne was incorporated with the dominions of the French monarch.[1]

March 6.

While the nation was intoxicated with joy caused by the first success of Talbot, Henry summoned a parliament, which, besides liberal supplies of money, voted an army of twenty thousand archers, to be raised and paid at the expense of the several counties.[2] It had been intended that the king should put himself at the head of this force; but the design was at first postponed, and ultimately abandoned, on account of the declining state of his health. If that circumstance raised, another occurred to lower, the hopes of the

Oct. 13.

Yorkists. In autumn the queen was delivered of a son, whom she called Edward. It was in vain that the king's enemies attempted to throw doubts on the legitimacy of the young prince. Their suspicions were silenced by the concurrent voice of the nation; and the prospect of an undisputed succession was hailed with joy by the friends of tranquillity.[3]

Unfortunately, however, Henry by this time had sunk into a state of mental, as well as bodily incapacity.[4] His melancholy situation, which could not

[1] Monstrel, iii. 41—59. Hall, 165, 166. Æneas Sylv. ibid.

[2] Rot. Parl. 230—233. On what principal the different proportions were fixed is not mentioned; if on that of population, it will follow that Norfolk contained more inhabitants than any other county. It furnished 1,012 men; the next in number were, Lincoln 910, York 713, Kent 575, and Wilts 478. The cities and towns, which were counties at the same time, were rated as follows: London 1,137, York 152, Norwich 121, Bristol 86, Coventry 76, Newcastle 53, Hull 50, Southampton and Lincoln 44, and Nottingham 30.—Ibid.

[3] Fab. 456.

[4] Apud Claryngtone subito occidit in gravem infirmitatem capitis, ita quod extractus a mente videbatur.—Wyrcest. 477. Ut sensu pro tempore careret et memoria . . . . nec valeret pedibus pergere, nec sursum erigere verticem, nec de loco in quo sedebat, bene se movere.—Whetham. 349.

be concealed, rendered it necessary to prorogue the parliament, and recalled the duke of York into the cabinet. He soon gained the ascendancy over his rival, and Somerset was committed to the Tower.[1] When the parliament reassembled, he opened the session in the king's name, with the title of his lieutenant. The commons had already shown themselves steadfastly attached to the royal cause; but the duke had contrived to throw into prison their speaker, Thomas Thorpe, one of the barons of the Exchequer. In an action for trespass (whether it were real or feigned is unknown) he had obtained a verdict in his own favour with damages to the amount of one thousand pounds; and Thorpe had been committed to the Fleet, till he should give security for that sum, and pay a proportional fine to the crown. It was in vain that the commons petitioned for the release of their speaker; the lords refused their assent; and a new speaker was chosen.[2] From the confused order and imperfect nature of the notices entered on the rolls, it is difficult to collect the proceedings of this session of parliament. It appears that many of the lords had absented themselves, and were compelled to attend by heavy fines.[3] The lord Cromwell obtained an act to bind the duke of Exeter to keep the peace under a severe penalty;[4] and the earl of Devonshire, another

CHAP. I. A.D. 1453. Nov. 25. 1454. Feb. 14. Feb. 16. Feb. 28. March 9.

[1] Rym. xi. 363. Rot. Parl. v.

[2] Rot. Parl. v. 238—240. The lords consulted the judges, who declined to give their opinion, "for the court of parliament is so "high and so mighty in its nature, that it may make law, and that "that is law, it may make no law; and the determination and "knowledge of that privilege belongeth to the lords of parliament "and not to the justices."—Ibid.

[3] Ibid. 248. The duke of Somerset and lord Cobham were exempted because they were in prison. Cobham was a partisan of York's.

[4] Ibid. 264. From Fenn's Letters it appears that the duke of

CHAP. I. A.D. 1454. March 14.

of the Yorkists, having been charged with treason, was tried and acquitted by his peers. The duke, conceiving that the accusation was aimed at himself, arose and said: "As far as this indictment toucheth me, "I say that it is false and untrue; and that I am, all "the days of my life have been, and to the end there-"of shall be, true and humble liegeman to the king, "my most dread sovereign lord, and never privily nor "apertly thought nor meant the contrary, whereof "I call unto witness God, and all the saints of "heaven." The lords of course replied, that they gave full belief to so solemn a protestation.[1]

A committee of peers was now chosen to visit the king; and as soon as they had reported that he was incapable of transacting business, an act was passed appointing the duke protector with a yearly salary of two thousand marks. The Lancastrians, however, had sufficient influence to preserve the king's rights inviolate. It was declared, agreeably to former precedents, that the title of protector imported no authority; that it merely gave the precedence in the council, and the command of the army in time of invasion or rebellion; that it was revocable at the will of the king; that it should not prejudice the rights of his son, who had already been created prince of Wales and earl of Chester; and that, if Henry's incapacity were permanent, the protectorate should devolve on the prince, as soon as he came of age.[2]

March 27.

April 16.

The custody of the sea was intrusted for seven years

York, in one part of this year, had the duke of Exeter in his own custody; and that he was afterwards at large, and had come secretly to London. "God," adds the writer, "send him good "council hereafter."—Fenn, i. 72, 76. He was afterwards confined at Pontefract.—Rym. xi. 365.

[1] Rot. Parl. v. 249, 250. [2] Ibid. 242—244.

to five noblemen selected from the two parties, the earls of Salisbury, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Wiltshire, and the lord Stourton,[1] but the goverment of Calais, a most important asylum in case of misfortune, was taken from Somerset, and bestowed on the duke of York for the same period.[2]

The king's malady was not permanent. About Christmas he recovered his health, and with it the use of his reason.[3] Though he received the duke of York with his usual kindness, he put an end to the protectorate, and liberated the duke of Somerset from the Tower. 1454. Feb. 5. At first that nobleman gave bail for his appearance at Westminster to answer the charges laid against him; but on his appeal to the council that he

[1] Ibid. 244—246. Of the manner in which provision was usually made for the safeguard of the sea, we have an instance on the Rolls for the year 1443. The fleet consisted of eight large ships with fore stages, each carrying one hundred and fifty men; eight barges, carrying eighty; eight balyngers, forty; four pinnaces, twenty-five. Each of the large ships had a captain, who was a knight, besides a master. The barges and balyngers had also masters. The expense of provisions for each man was estimated at two pence the day, his pay at two shillings the month. The masters had in addition a reward of 3s. 4d. per month. The ships were to be on the sea from Candlemas to Martinmas; and in case they made any captures, the value was to be divided into two halves, of which one belonged to the masters, quarter-masters, shipmen, and soldiers; the other was to be subdivided in three equal parts, of which two were to be given to the owners of the ships, barges, balyngers, and pinnaces, and one to the captains, by whom it was to be apportioned into eight shares, two for the commander-in-chief, and one for each of the others.—Ibid. 59, 60.

[2] Rot. Parl. v. 254—256. On the death of Kempe, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, York gave the seals to his great friend, the earl of Salisbury, Ap. 2. 1454.—See Rym. xi. 344.

[3] Fenn's Letters, i. 80. "And on the Monday afternoon the "queen came to him, and brought my lord prince with her, and "there he asked what the prince's name was, and the queen told him "Edward, and then he held up his hands and thanked God thereof. "And he said he never knew till that time, nor wist not what was "said to him, nor wist not where he had been, whilst he hath been "sick till now."—Ibid.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1455.

had been committed without any lawful cause, the recognizances were discharged. Henry laboured most earnestly to reconcile the two dukes. As the government of Calais, which had been taken from Somerset and given to York, was likely to prove a new source of dissension, the king assumed it himself, and prevailed on both to submit, under the penalty of twenty thousand marks, their other differences to the decision of eight arbitrators, who should present their award before the twentieth of June.[1]

March 4.

York, however, had no intention to await that award, but took the first opportunity to retire from court, invited his friends to meet him in the marches of Wales, and soon saw himself at the head of three thousand men, with the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Salisbury, and his son the celebrated earl of Warwick. At the news Henry left London, and early the next morning, as he entered St. Alban's, was surprised to behold the banners of the Yorkists advancing towards the town. They halted in a neighbouring field; and, after a pause of three hours, sent a message to the king with strong professions of attachment and loyalty, but demanding the immediate surrender of Somerset and his associates, and declaring that they would die themselves, or pursue their enemies to the death. Henry refused with firmness, declaring that, "sooner "than abandon any of the lords who were faithful "to him, he was ready that day in their quarrel to "live and die."[2] Though the barriers at the entrance

May 22.

[1] Rym. 361—364. The arbitrators were, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely, the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Wiltshire and Worcester, the viscount Beaumont, and the lords Cromwell and Stourton.—Ibid. The duke of Exeter was also liberated from his confinement in the castle of Pontefract.—Rym. xi. 365.

[2] Whetham. 352. Stowe, 398.

of the town were gallantly defended by the lord Clifford, Warwick forced his way through the gardens into the street, and his followers rent the air with shouts of A Warwick! a Warwick! At the sound, alarm spread among the royalists; the barriers were abandoned; the Yorkists poured through the opening and the victory was won.

Henry had taken refuge in the house of a tanner, where the duke immediately visited him. He bent his knee with apparent humility, bade the king rejoice that the traitor (meaning Somerset) had met with his desert, and, taking him by the hand, led him first to the shrine of St. Alban, and then to his apartment in the abbey. The battle seems to have been won by the archers. Henry was wounded in the neck, the duke of Buckingham and lord Dudley in the face, the earl of Stafford in the arm, all of them with arrows. The duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford were slain; and, as soon as they fell, their men threw down their arms and fled.[1] Some writers tell us that the slain amounted to many thousands; but a letter written three days after the battle reduces it to six score, and Sir William Stonor, at that time steward of the abbey, seems to make the number still smaller.[2]

The unfortunate king, in the hands and at the mercy of his enemies, was compelled to lend the sanction of his authority to the very acts by which he

[1] Rot. Parl. v. 347.

[2] Hall has 8,000 (p. 168), Stowe 5,000 (p. 400), but Crane in his letter to his cousin John Paston, dated Whitsunday, had at first written ten score, which he afterwards corrected to six.—Fenn's Letters, i. p. 100. According to Sir William Stonor, forty-eight were buried in St. Alban's.—Arch. xx. 522. Numbers are generally exaggerated in the ancient writers.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1455. July 9.

had been deprived of his liberty. When the parliament assembled, he was told that York and his adherents had in all their proceedings been actuated by sentiments of the purest loyality; that their only object had been to explain to him the disgraceful practices of his ministers, and to assist him with their advice in redressing the grievances of the nation; that previously to the battle they had announced their motives and views in letters, which had been withheld from his notice by the arts of the late duke of Somerset, of Thorpe, formerly speaker of the house of commons,[1] and of William Joseph, the confidant of these traitors; and at last they determined to lay their complaints before him in person; but, as they entered the town of St. Alban's for that purpose, were opposed by Somerset, who, in the affray which followed, paid with his life the penalty of his treason. The king, affecting to give credit to this incredible tale, acquitted York, Warwick, and Salisbury of all disloyal practices, pronounced them good and faithful subjects, and granted them a full pardon for all offences committed before the first day of the session.

July 18. The peers renewed their oath of fealty, the spiritual lords laying their right hands on their breasts, the temporal placing their hands between those of the

July 31. king. On the last day of July the parliament was prorogued to the twelfth of November.[2]

[1] Thorpe was in the battle: "he and many other fflede, and left "her harneys behynde him cowardly."—Arch. xx. 522. The very letter or remonstrance said to have been kept back, was lately in the possession of Mr. Thorpe.

[2] Rot. Parl. v. 275—283. The Yorkists appear to have quarrelled among themselves. On the day on which they swore fealty, "there was language between my lords of Warwick and Cromwell "afore the king, insomuch as the lord Cromwell would have excused "himself of all the stirring or moving of the mal journey (the

CHAP. I. A.D. 1455.

About the end of October it was rumoured that Henry had relapsed into his former disorder, and the session was opened by the duke of York as his lieutenant. The next day the commons requested the lords to petition the king, that, if he were unable to attend to the public business himself, a protector might be immediately appointed. Two days later they renewed their request, adding, that till it was granted they should suspend the consideration of every other subject. As soon as they left the house, the lords conjured the duke of York to undertake the charge; but he, with affected humility, alleged his own incapacity, and solicited them to select from their body a peer more worthy of the honour, and more equal to the burden. They in return renewed their prayer with many compliments to his abilities and wisdom. When this farce had been acted for a considerable time, he condescended to accept the protectorate, but on condition that it should not be, as before, revocable "at the will of the king, but by the "king in parliament, with the advice and assent "of the lords spiritual and temporal."[1] Still the powers of government were vested, not in him, but in

Nov. 12.
Nov. 13.
Nov. 15.

"battle) of St. Alban's, of the which excuse making my lord of "Warwick had knowledge, and in haste was with the king, and "swore by his oath that the lord Cromwell said not truth but that he "was beginner of all that journey at St. Alban's; and so between my "said two lords of Warwick and Cromwell there is at this day great "grudging, insomuch as the earl of Shrewsbury hath lodged him at "the hospital of St. James beside the Mews, by the lord Cromwell's "desire, for his safeguard."—Fenn's Let. i. 110. In this session was passed an act, declaring the duke of Gloucester to have been till his death a loyal subject.—Whetham. 365. Rot. Parl. v. 335.

[1] In the act confirming this appointment, as well as that which confirmed the former, a clause was introduced transferring it to the prince of Wales, as soon as he should come to the years of discretion. —Ibid. 288.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1455.

the members of the council; but this provision was intended merely to blind the eyes of the nation; for he had previously secured a majority in the council, and the office of chancellor, and the government of Calais, were bestowed on his associates, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick.[1]

1456.

After these arrangements the protector might think himself secure, and might expect at a convenient time to exchange his present for a still higher title. But the meek and inoffensive character of Henry had preserved him friends, who were unwilling that he should be stripped of his authority; and the lofty spirit of the queen sought every opportunity to oppose the rival pretensions of the Yorkists. When the parliament met after the holidays, Henry had recovered his health. To strengthen his party,

Jan. 14.

York had called Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Richard West to the house of peers; but the current ran in the king's favour; Henry proceeded in person

Feb. 25.

to the parliament, and the protector's commission was formally revoked.[2]

With apparent willingness the duke descended from his high station; the earl of Salisbury resigned the great seal; and the offices of government were again filled by the king's friends. Two years passed without any important occurrence; but they were years of distress and alarm: the relatives of the lords slain at St. Alban's loudly demanded vengeance; and their adversaries surrounded themselves with bands of armed and trusted retainers. Henry called a great council

[1] Rot. Parl. v. 283—290, 441. Young, who had been imprisoned for his bold motion in favour of the duke of York, presented a petition for damages on account of his imprisonment.—Ibid. 337.

[2] Ibid. 421.

at Coventry, and by the mouth of his chancellor repeatedly communicated his complaints and intentions to the duke of York. At length the duke of Buckingham, as speaker of the house, rehearsed all the real or supposed offences with which that prince had been charged; and at the conclusion, the peers, falling on their knees, besought the king to declare that he would never more "show grace" to the duke or any other person, who should oppose the rights of the crown, or disturb the peace of the realm. Henry assented; and York repeated his oath of fealty, and gave a copy of it under his own signature to the king. The same was exacted from the earl of Warwick. In conclusion, all the lords bound themselves never for the future to seek redress by force, but to remit their quarrels to the justice of their sovereign.[1]

In consequence of this resolution, Henry, who had long acted as the only impartial man in his dominions, laboured to mitigate the resentments of the two parties; and at last had reason to hope that his endeavours would be crowned with complete success. By common agreement they repaired with their retainers to London;[2] the royalists were lodged without, the Yorkists within the walls; and the mayor, at the head of five thousand armed citizens, undertook to preserve the peace. The duke assembled his partisans every morning at the Black Friars: their resolves

1458. Jan. 26.

[1] Such is the account on the Rolls, v. 347. Our chroniclers tell us that York, Salisbury, and Warwick had arrived near Coventry, when they received advice of a conspiracy against their lives, and immediately fled, York to Wigmore, Salisbury to Middleham, and Warwick to Calais.—Fab. 462. Stowe. 402.

[2] The duke of York had only 140 horse, the new duke of Somerset 200, the earl of Salisbury 400, besides fourscore knights and esquires.—Fenn's Letters, i. 151.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1458.

were communicated by the primate and other prelates to the royalists, who met at the White Friars every afternoon; and the proceedings of the day were in the evening laid before the king, who with several of the judges resided at Berkhamstead. At length, March 24. as umpire between them, he pronounced his award; that within the two following years a chantry should be founded at the expense of the duke of York, and the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, for the souls of the three lords slain in battle at St. Alban's; that both those who were dead, and the lords who had been the cause of their death, should be reputed faithful subjects; that the duke of York should pay to the dowager duchess of Somerset and her children the sum of five thousand, and the earl of Warwick to the lord Clifford that of one thousand marks; and that the earl of Salisbury should release to Percy lord Egremont all the damages he had obtained against him for an assault, on condition that the said lord Egremont should enter into a sufficient recognizance to keep the peace for ten years.[1] The next March 25. day Henry, attended by his whole court, walked in procession to St. Paul's. In token of their reconciliation the queen was conducted by the duke of York; and the lords of each party walked before them arm in arm as friends or brothers. To the beholders it was a spectacle which appeared to promise harmony and peace; but no external ceremony could extinguish the passions of ambition and revenge which yet lay smouldering in their breasts.[2]

The king a short time before had taken the custody

[1] It is given at length in Whethamstede, 418—428. See also Rot. Parl. v. 347.

[2] Fab. 464. Holinshed, 647. Hall, 172.

of the sea from the duke of Exeter, and given it to the earl of Warwick for a term of five years. His object probably was to attach that enterprising nobleman to the throne, or to remove him to a distance from his associates. In May intelligence was brought to Calais, that a strange fleet of twenty-eight sail had been met at sea; and Warwick, with his characteristic intrepidity, hastened to intercept it with only five large and seven small vessels. The battle lasted from four in the morning till ten; and the English, though they had captured six sail, were compelled to retire with considerable loss into Calais.[1] The fleet, or at least the merchandise, belonged to the citizens of Lubeck, whose commerce had been hitherto conducted under the faith of treaties with England. On the complaint of the sufferers a commission was appointed to inquire into the causes of the engagement; and Warwick was in consequence summoned to attend the council at Westminster.[2] One day, as he left the court, a quarrel arose between one of his livery and one of the king's servants; the affray gradually became more alarming; and the earl believed, or affected to believe, that his life was in danger. He hastened into the north to consult his father the earl of Salisbury and the duke of York; and having settled with them the plan of his future operations, returned to his command at Calais.[3]

May 29

July 31.

Nov. 9.

The winter was passed in preparations for the subsequent contest. The three lords actively solicited the aid of their partisans; and Warwick in particular

[1] John Jerningham, who was in the battle, acknowledged the defeat. "Men say, there was not so great a battle upon the sea "this forty winters; and forsooth we were well and truly beat.'—Fenn's Letters, i. 161.

[2] Rym. xi. 415.

[3] Hall, 172, 173.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1458.

called under his banner the veterans who had served in the late wars in Normandy and Guienne. The court distributed with profusion collars of white swans, the badge of the young prince, and by letters under the privy seal invited the king's friends to meet him in arms in the city of Leicester.[1] The dissension was no longer confined to the higher classes; it divided almost every family in the nation; it had penetrated into the convents of the monks and the cottages of the poor. One party maintained that the duke of York was an injured prince, who with his associates was trampled under foot by the minions of the court, and was compelled to arm in order to preserve his own life; the other pronounced him a traitor, who under false pretences sought to place himself on the throne, and who owed to the king's clemency that life which he had already forfeited to the laws.[2] The greater part of the summer passed without any important event. At last the earl of Salisbury moved from his castle of Middleham to join the duke of York on the borders of Wales. The lord Audley with ten thousand men interposed himself between them at Bloreheath in Staffordshire. Salisbury, whose force was small, pretended to fly; the royalists pursued in confusion; and, as soon as one half of them had crossed a rapid torrent, the fugitives turned, fell on the pursuers in the glen, and obtained with ease a complete victory. Audley, with more than two thousand men, remained on the field of battle; the lord Dudley, with many knights and esquires, was made prisoner. The earl led his troops without further molestation to Ludlow, where he found the duke of York, and was in a few days joined by his

1459. May 10.

Sept. 23.

[1] Fenn, i. 75. [2] Cont. Croyl. i. 529. Whetham. 454.

son from Calais with a large body of veterans under Sir John Blount and Sir Andrew Trollop.[1] CHAP. I. A.D. 1459.

The king with an army of sixty thousand men lay at Worcester, and had sent the bishop of Salisbury to his opponents with offers of reconciliation and pardon, if they would submit within six days. They replied that they had no reliance on his promises; that his friends, depending on his own favour, transgressed his commands; and that the earl of Warwick had the last year nearly lost his life by their treachery. He advanced to Ludiford, within half a mile of their camp; when they sent him a second message, declaring that, if they had taken up arms, it was solely in their own defence; that though they could have revenged themselves on their enemies, they had refrained through respect to him; and that even now when they had retired to the very borders of his kingdom, they had determined not to draw the sword against their sovereign, unless they should be compelled by necessity.[2] The Yorkists were intrenched behind several batteries of cannon, which played incessantly on the royal army. To keep up the spirits of his men, the duke spread a report that Henry had died the day before, and ordered mass to be chanted for the repose of his soul. But the same afternoon Sir Andrew Trollop, marshal of the army, who, though attached to his sovereign, had hitherto been deceived by the fair speeches of the insurgents, discovered the real object of the duke. He did not hesitate a moment; but, taking with him his veterans, departed to offer his services to the king. Distrust and consternation instantly spread through the camp; and the

Oct. 10

Oct. 13

[1] Hall, 173. Stowe, 405. Whetham. 445. Rot. Parl. v. 384.
[2] Whetham. 468. Stowe, 406.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1450. Nov. 2

confederate lords about midnight fled with precipitation into the heart of Wales. There they separated, York with one of his sons sailing to Ireland, the rest accompanying Warwick into Devonshire, whence he made his way back to Calais.[1]

This bloodless victory was most gratifying to the merciful disposition of Henry, who the next morning granted an amnesty to the insurgents abandoned by their leaders, and convoked a parliament to meet at Nov. 20. Coventry. Its principal employment was to pass an act of attainder against the duke and duchess of York, and their children the earls of March and Rutland, against the earl and countess of Salisbury, and their son the earl of Warwick, the lord Clinton, and a few other knights and esquires.[2] It was with pain that Henry acquiesced in this act of severity. When it was read before him preparatory to the dissolution, he insisted on the addition of a clause enabling him to dispense with the attainder, whenever he should think proper, and refused his assent to that part of it which confiscated the property of the lord Powis and two others, who had thrown themselves on his mercy the morning after the flight of their leaders.[3]

In this desperate situation the hopes and fortunes of the Yorkists rested on the abilities and popularity of the earl of Warwick, who by a most fatal error had been permitted to retain the command of the fleet with the government of Calais. He was now superseded in both; in the former by the duke of Exeter, in the latter by the duke of Somerset. But when Somerset prepared to enter the harbour, he was driven back by the fire from the batteries; and as

[1] Rot. Parl. v. 349. Whetham. 461. Hall, 174. Fab. 466.
[2] Rot. Parl. v. 345—351. [3] Ibid. 350. Whetham. 473.

soon as he had landed at Guisnes, his ships were carried off by his own mariners to their favourite commander at Calais. They were a most valuable acquisition to Warwick, who, while Somerset and his veterans were uselessly detained at Guisnes, surprised two successive armaments fitted out by the royalists in the ports of Kent. He sailed even to Dublin to concert measures with the duke of York, and in his return was met by the duke of Exeter; but that commander, alarmed at symptoms of disaffection in his fleet, turned into Dartmouth, and Warwick rejoined his friends in Calais.[1]

June 1.

The result of the conference at Dublin was soon disclosed. Emissaries were sent to all the friends of the party to hold themselves in readiness for action; and reports were spread that Henry had not given his assent to the act of attainder; that he was still convinced of the innocence of the exiles; and that, instead of being free, he was a reluctant captive in the hands of a faction. At the same time was circulated an appeal to the nation by the duke of York, enumerating all the grievances under which the people were said to labour; accusing the earls of Shrewsbury and Wiltshire and the lord Beaumont of guiding the king contrary to his own interests; complaining of the act of attainder against himself and his friends; asserting that letters had been sent to the French

[1] Wyrcest. 478, 479. Whethamstede, 476. In one of these expeditions the lord Rivers was surprised in bed. "He was "brought to Calais and before the lords with eight score torches, "and there my lord of Salisbury rated him, calling him Knave's "son, that he should be so rude as to call him and those "other lords traitors; for they should be found the king's true "liege men, when he should be found a traitor."—Fenn's Letters, i. 187.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1460.

king to besiege Calais, and to the natives of Ireland to expel the English; and declaring that the fugitive lords were faithful subjects, and intended to prove their innocence before their sovereign.[1] This manifesto was followed by the arrival of Warwick, who with fifteen hundred men landed in Kent, a county much attached to the house of York. He brought with him Coppini, bishop of Terni, who had been sent by Pius II. as legate to Henry, but had already sold himself to the king's enemies. In Kent, Warwick was joined by the lord Cobham with four hundred followers, by the archbishop of Canterbury, who owed his dignity to the favour of the duke during the protectorate, and by most of the neighbouring gentlemen. As he advanced, his army swelled to the amount of twenty-five, some say to forty thousand men: London opened its gates; and the earl, going to the convocation, asserted his loyalty upon oath, and prevailed on five of the bishops to accompany him, for the purpose of introducing him to his sovereign. The legate at the same time published to the clergy and people a letter which he had written to the king, vindicating the loyalty of the Yorkists, and declaring that they demanded nothing more than the peaceable possession of their estates, and the removal of evil counsellors. Henry had collected his army at Coventry, and advanced to Northampton, where he intrenched himself. Warwick, after three ineffectual attempts to obtain a conference with the king, gave to him notice to prepare for battle at two in the afternoon; and the legate, to animate his friends, not only excommunicated their enemies, but

June 5.

July 2

July 3

July 10.

[1] Stowe, 407, 408.

set up the papal banner in the field.[1] The royalists seemed confident of victory, but were betrayed by the lord Grey of Ruthyn, who, instead of defending his post, introduced the Yorkists into the heart of the camp. Though the combat lasted but a short time, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, lord treasurer, the viscount Beaumont, the lord Egremont, with three hundred knights and gentlemen, were slain;[2] for it was the policy of Warwick to direct his followers to spare the people, and to refuse quarter to the nobility. Henry retired to his tent, where he received from the victors every demonstration of respect; his queen and her son fled towards Chester, and though they were rifled by their own servants, escaped into Wales, and thence after many adventures sailed to one of the Scottish ports.[3]

The captive monarch was conducted to London. But though he entered the capital in great pomp, the earl of Warwick riding bareheaded and carrying the sword before him, he was compelled to give the sanction of his authority to such measures as the victors proposed, to issue writs in approbation of the loyalty of those who nad borne arms against him, and to call a parliament for the pretended purpose of healing the dissensions between the two parties. It had scarcely repealed all the acts passed by the last parliament at Coventry,[4] when the duke of York Oct 10.

[1] Ellis, Orig. Letters, ser. 3, i. 82—97. As soon as this was known in Rome, Pius recalled the legate; and though he returned laden with honours, presents, and offices by King Edward, imprisoned, deposed, and degraded him. He was afterwards permitted to take the cowl in a Benedictine abbey, under the name of Ignatius.—Ibid.

[2] Wyrcest. 481. Whetham. 479—481. Hardyng, 403.

[3] Wyrcest. 481, 482.

[4] Rot. Parl. v. 374. The reasons given are, that it was not duly

CHAP. I. A.D. 1460.

entered the city with a retinue of five hundred horsemen, and, riding to Westminster, passed through the hall into the house, and stood for a short time with his hand on the throne. To the spectators he appeared to wait for an invitation to place himself on it. But every voice was silent. He turned and surveyed the assembly, when the primate ventured to ask him if he would visit the king, who was in the queen's apartment. "I know no one in this realm," he replied, "who ought not rather to visit me;" and leaving the house, appropriated to himself that part of the palace which had been usually reserved for the accommodation of the monarch.

This was the first time that the duke had publicly advanced his claim; but though he was really in possession of the royal authority, the people were not prepared to deprive Henry of the crown. The meek and inoffensive character of the king strongly interested the feelings of men in his favour. His family had been seated on the throne for three generations; he had filled it himself thirty-nine years; most of his opponents owed their honours, many of them their estates to his bounty. York himself, on succeeding to the inheritance of the earl of March, from whom he claimed, had sworn fealty and done homage to Henry; when he accepted the government of Normandy, when he was appointed lieutenant in Ireland,

summoned, and that many of the members were returned, some without due and free election, and some without any election at all.—Rot. Parl. v. 374. How far this was true in the present instance, we know not; it should, however, be observed that the sheriffs prayed for a bill of indemnity, not because they had made false returns, as some writers have imagined, but for having held the elections in obedience to the writ after the year of their shrievalty was expired, contrary to the statute of the 23rd of the king.—Ibid. 367.

[1] Whetham. 483. Wyrcest. 483.

when he was raised to the protectorate during the king's incapacity, he had under his own seal and on the rolls of parliament acknowledged him for his sovereign; and of late he had repeatedly sworn, on the sacrament, that he would be faithful to him, would maintain him on the throne, and would even augment, if it were possible, his royal dignity. On these accounts many of his adherents would never be persuaded that he intended to dethrone Henry; and when he made the attempt, he found his hopes unexpectedly checked by their apathy, and the murmurs of the people.[1]

Oct. 16. On the ninth day of the session the duke of York by his counsel delivered to the bishop of Exeter, the new chancellor, a statement of his claim to the crown, and requested that he might have a speedy answer. The lords resolved that, since every man who sued in that court, whether he were high or low, had a right to be heard, the duke's petition should be read, but that no answer should be returned without the previous command of the king. In this writing, having first derived his descent from Henry III., by Lionel third son to Edward III., he stated that, on the resignation of Richard II., Henry earl of Derby, the son of John of Ghent, the younger brother of the said Lionel, had, against all manner of right, entered on the crowns of England and France and the lordship of Ireland, which by law belonged to Roger Mortimer earl of March, great-grandson to the said Sir Lionel; whence he concluded that of right, law, and custom, the said crown and lordship now belonged to himself,

[1] Et illo die pauci dominorum sibi favebant sed solummodo absentabant.—Wyrcest. 484. Cœpit protinus status omnis et gradus, ætas et sexus, ordo et conditio contra eum murmuranter agere.—Whetham. 485.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1460. as the lineal representative of Roger Mortimer, in preference to any one who could claim only as the descendant of Henry earl of Derby.[1]

The next day Richard demanded an immediate Oct. 17. answer, and the lords resolved to wait on the king, and to receive his commands. Henry, when the subject was first opened to him, replied; "My father "was king; his father was also king: I have worn "the crown forty years from my cradle; you have all "sworn fealty to me as your sovereign, and your "fathers have done the like to my fathers. How "then can my right be disputed?"[2] In conclusion, he recommended his interests to their loyalty, and commanded them to "search for to find, in as "much as in them was, all such things as might "be objected and laid against the claim and title of Oct. 18. "the said duke." The lords the next day sent for the judges, and ordered them to defend to the best of their power the king's claims. They, however, demanded to be excused. By their office they were not to be of counsel between party and party, but to judge according to law of such matters as came before them: but the present question was above the law; it appertained not to them; it could be decided only by the lords of the king's blood and the high court of Oct. 20. parliament. An order was then made for the attendance of the king's sergeants and attorneys; they also Oct. 22. presented their excuses, which, however, were not admitted, because by their office they were bound to give advice to the crown.

After several debates, in which each lord gave his opinion with apparent freedom, the following objec-

[1] Rot. Parl. v. 375. In this instrument he calls himself Richard Plantagenet.

[2] Blackm. 305.

tions were sent to the duke: 1. That both he and the lords had sworn fealty to Henry, and of course he by his oath was prevented from urging, they by theirs from admitting, his claim: 2. That many acts, passed in divers parliaments of the king's progenitors, might be opposed to the pretensions of the house of Clarence, which acts "have been of authority to defeat "any manner of title:" 3. That several entails had been made of the crown to the heirs male, whereas he claimed by descent from females: 4. That he did not bear the arms of Lionel the third, but of Edmund, the fifth son of Edward III.; and 5. That Henry IV. had declared that he entered on the throne as the true heir of Henry III. To the three first objections the duke's council replied; that as priority of descent was evidently in his favour, it followed that the right to the crown was his; which right could not be defeated by oaths or acts of parliament, or entails. Indeed, the only entail made to the exclusion of females was that of the seventh year of Henry IV., and would never have been thought of had that prince claimed under the customary law of descents; that the reason why he had not hitherto taken the arms of Lionel was the same as had prevented him from claiming the crown, the danger to which such a proceeding would have exposed him; and lastly, that, if Henry IV. pronounced himself the rightful heir of Henry III., he asserted what he knew to be untrue. As, however, the principal reliance of his adversaries was on the oaths which he had taken, and which it was contended were to be considered as a surrender of his right by his own act, he contended that no oath contrary to truth and justice is binding; that the virtue of an oath is to confirm truth and not to impugn it; and

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that as the obligation of oaths is a subject for the determination of the spiritual tribunals, he was willing to answer in any such court all manner of men, who should bring forward his oath in bar of his claim.

At length the lords resolved that the title of the
Oct. 24. duke of York could not be defeated; yet they refused to proceed to the next step of dethroning the king. To "save their oaths and clear their consciences," they proposed a compromise; that Henry should possess the crown for the term of his natural life, and that the duke and his heirs should succeed to it after Henry's death. To this both parties agreed. The duke and his two sons, the earls of March and Rutland, swore not to molest the king, but to maintain him on the throne; and Henry gave the royal assent
Oct. 31. to the bill declaring the duke heir apparent, allotting certain estates to him and his sons on that account, and pronouncing any attempt against his person a crime of high treason. On the conclusion of this important affair, the king, with the crown on his head and attended by the duke as heir apparent, rode in state to make his thanksgiving at St. Paul's.[1]

But though the unfortunate monarch had consented to surrender the interests of his son, they were still upheld by the queen, and the lords who had always

[1] Rot. Parl. 375—383. From the history of this controversy, as it is entered on the Rolls, it is plain that both the feelings and the opinions of the lords were in favour of Henry. The original defect in his descent had been supplied by the consent of the nation, the undisturbed possession of the crown by his family during sixty years, and the numerous oaths of fealty taken by all men, even his very competitor. No considerations could induce them to dethrone him; all that could be extorted from them by the victorious party was a compromise, which secured the crown to Henry during his life, and then took it from his son, to whom they had never sworn fealty, and gave it to another branch of the royal family.

adhered to the house of Lancaster. The earl of Northumberland, the lords Clifford, Dacres, and Neville, assembled an army at York; and the duke of Somerset and the earl of Devon joined them with their tenants from those counties. This union alarmed the victorious party; York and Salisbury hastened to anticipate their designs; and though Somerset surprised the vanguard of the Yorkists at Worksop, they reached before Christmas the strong castle of Sandal. Whether it were that the duke of York was compelled to send out strong parties to forage, or that his pride could not brook the taunts of his enemies, he met them with inferior forces near Wakefield, and was either killed in the battle, or taken and beheaded on the spot. Two thousand of his men, with most of their leaders, remained on the field; and the earl of Salisbury was taken during the night, and decapitated the next day at Pontefract. But no one was more lamented than the earl of Rutland, who had only reached his eigtheenth year.[1] Accompanied by one to whose care he had been intrusted, he fled from the conflict, but was stopped on the bridge of Wakefield. When he was asked his name, unable to speak through terror, he fell on his knees; and his attendant, thinking to save him, said that he was the son of the duke. "Then," exclaimed Clifford, "as thy father slew mine, so will I slay "thee, and all thy kin," and plunging his dagger into the breast of the young prince, bade the tutor go, and bear the news to the boy's mother. The queen on her arrival was presented with the head of her enemy, the duke, and ordered it to be encircled

CHAP. I. A.D. 1460.

Dec. 2.

Dec. 21.

Dec. 30

[1] He was born 17th May, 1443.—Wyrcest.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1461.

with a diadem of paper, and placed on the walls of York.[1]

From this moment the war assumed a new character; and the thirst for revenge gave to the combatants of each party a ferocity to which they had hitherto been strangers. Edward, earl of March, and heir to the late duke of York, was at Gloucester when he received the melancholy intelligence of the fate of his father and brother; and having completed his levies, hastened to interpose an army between the royalists and the capital. He was closely followed by an inferior force of Welsh and Irish, under the king's uterine brother, Jasper, earl of Pembroke; but,

Feb. 2.

apprehensive of being surrounded, he suddenly faced about and obtained the bloody victory of Mortimer's Cross, near Wigmore. The royalists are said to have lost about four thousand men. Pembroke himself escaped; but his father, Owen Tudor, was taken, and, with Throgmorton and seven other captains, was beheaded at Hereford, as a sacrifice to the manes of those who had been executed after the battle of Wakefield.[2]

While Edward was thus occupied in the west, the queen with her victorious army advanced on the road to London, and met with no opposition till she had reached the town of St. Alban's. It was held by the earl of Warwick, who had drawn up his troops on the low

Feb. 17.

hills to the south. The royalists penetrated as far as the market cross, but were repulsed by a strong body of archers. They next forced their way by another street as far as Barnet Heath, where, after a long

[1] Rot. Parl. v. 466. Wyrcest. 484. 485. Whetham. 489. Con. Croyl. 530. Hall, 183.

[2] Wyrcest. 486. Contin. Croyl. 550.

conflict, they put to flight the men of Kent. Night saved the Yorkists from utter destruction. They separated and fled in different directions, leaving the king in his tent under the care of the lord Montague, his chamberlain. He was soon visited by Margaret and his son, and embraced them with transports of joy. There fell in this battle about two thousand men. The next day the lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Kyriel were beheaded in retaliation for the executions at Hereford.[1] Feb. 18.

Thus by another unexpected revolution Henry was restored to his friends, and placed at the head of a victorious army. Could he have conducted that army immediately to the capital, the citizens must have opened the gates; but his soldiers were principally borderers, accustomed to live by rapine, and had been allured to the royal standard by the promise of plunder. No entreaty could prevail on them to march forward; no prohibition prevent them from dispersing to pillage the country; and the necessity of protecting their property attached to the banners of the house of York the citizens of London and the inhabitants of the neighbouring counties. Henry announced by proclamation that his assent to the late award had been extorted by violence, and issued orders for the immediate arrest of Edward, late earl of March, and son to the late duke of York.[2] But Feb. 22.

[1] Wyrcest. 486. Whethamst. 497—501. Contin. Croyl. 550. It is often said that Bonville and Kyriel attended the king, and would have fled, but were persuaded to remain by Henry, who gave them his word that they should not suffer. These contemporary writers do not mention it, and Wyrcester expressly asserts that it was the lord Montague who was taken with Henry. However, in the act of attainder passed in the 1st of Edward IV., it is said they had received from him a promise of protection.—Rot. Parl. v. 477.

[2] Rot. Parl. v. 466.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1461.

Edward had now united his forces with those of the earl of Warwick; and their superiority of numbers induced the royalists to retire with expedition into the northern counties. They were not pursued. Edward had a more important object in view, and

Feb. 25.

entered London with all the pomp of a victorious monarch. His youth (he was in his nineteenth year), his beauty and accomplishments, the unfortunate fate of his father and brother, the fame of his late success, and the ravages of the royalists, conspired to multiply the number of his adherents. To sound the disposition of the citizens, the lord Falconberg reviewed four thousand men in the fields, and Neville, bishop of Exeter, seized the opportunity to harangue the spectators on the unfounded claim, and the incapacity of Henry, the just title and the

March 2.

abilities of Edward. The acclamations which followed his speech were considered as a proof of the public feeling; and the next day it was resolved, in a great

March 3.

council, that Henry, by joining the queen's forces, had violated the award, and forfeited the crown to Edward, the heir of Richard, late duke of York. As soon as this resolution was announced, the prince rode in procession to Westminster Hall, and mounting the

March 4.

throne, explained to the audience the rights of his family. He then entered the church, repeated his speech, and on both occasions was frequently interrupted with cries of "Long live King Edward. He was immediately proclaimed in the usual style by the heralds in different parts of the city.[1]

On that day expired the reign of Henry VI., a prince, whose personal character commanded the respect of his very enemies, and whose misfortunes still

[1] Contin. Croyl. 550. Whetham. 511, 514. Wyrcest. 488, 489.

claim the sympathy of the reader. He was virtuous, and religious; humane, forgiving, and benevolent; but nature had refused him that health of body and fortitude of mind which would have enabled him to struggle through the peculiar difficulties of his situation. It would be unjust to ascribe those difficulties to his misconduct; they arose from causes over which he had no control, the original defect in his title, the duration of his minority, the dissensions of his uncles, and the frequent recurrence of corporal debility, generally accompanied with the privation of reason. Some of these causes, however, gave birth to proceedings most interesting to those who wish to investigate the principles of our ancient constitution. From them it appears that, though the king, in the case of temporary absence from the realm, might appoint a regent with delegated authority during his absence, yet he could not, without the concurrence of the three estates, provide for the government during the minority of his successor—that whenever the reigning monarch, either through extreme youth or mental disease, was incapable of performing the functions of royalty, the exercise of his authority devolved exclusively on the house of lords, who appointed the great officers of state and the members of the council, giving to them powers to transact the ordinary business of government, but resuming those powers, as often as they themselves were assembled either in parliament or in a great council, and that the recognition of these doctrines was required from the first princes of the blood, the dukes of Bedford, Gloucester, and York, who at different times acknowledged that, during the king's minority or incapacity, they were entitled to no more authority than any other peer,

CHAP. I. A.D. 1461.

unless it were conferred upon them by the whole body.[1] For the same reason, when the succession to the crown was disputed, the claims of each party were brought before the house of lords, as the only legitimate tribunal, which possessed the authority to pronounce on so important a question. The commons neither presumed, nor would have been suffered, to interfere. They might indeed represent the urgency of the case to the upper house, might ask to be made acquainted with its resolutions, and, if an act of parliament were necessary, might give their assent; but the nomination of the protector and the counsellors was made, and their powers were determined, by the peers alone; and the functions of the two houses were accurately distinguished in the language of the statutes, which attribute the appointment to the king by the advice and assent of the lords, and with the assent only of the commons.[2]

The commons, however, during this reign were careful to maintain that importance in the state which they had inherited from their predecessors. They continued to vote and appropriate the supplies; their concurrence was deemed necessary in the enactment of statutes; and they exercised the right of impeaching those ministers who had forfeited the confidence of the nation. If they suffered their claims of liberty of speech and freedom from arrest to be invaded by the imprisonment of Thorpe through the influence of the duke of York, and of Young by the order of the king, it should be remembered that these illegal acts were committed when the minds of men were heated by a contest for the crown, and therefore could form no precedents for more peaceable

[1] See Rot. Parl. iv. 326; v. 542, 409—411 [2] Ibid.

times. From Henry the commons obtained what had been refused or eluded by former sovereigns, a law for the personal security of all members of parliament while they attended their duty;[1] and several statutes were enacted to regulate the manner of elections, to prevent false returns, and to fix the qualifications both of the candidates and the voters. The sheriff was ordered to proceed to the election in the first county court after the receipt of the king's writ, between the hours of nine and eleven in the morning; to admit no longer the votes of all who attended, but to examine them upon oath, and to exclude those who did not both reside in the county, and possess within it a free tenement of the yearly value of forty shillings after the deduction of all charges; to return no candidate who was not a knight, "or notable esquire, or gentleman of birth, able to be a knight;" and to write the names of the persons returned in an indenture under the seals of all the voters. It was also provided that the representatives of the cities and burghs should be inhabitants of the same cities and burghs; that when the mayors or bailiffs made the return to the sheriff, he should give them his receipt; and that for every false return he should be liable to imprisonment, to a fine to the king, and to payment of damages to the injured candidate.[2]

The hereditary revenue of the crown had during several reigns been continually on the decrease; under Henry it was more rapidly diminished by the enormous expenses incurred during the war in France, and

[1] Rot. Parl. iv. 453. The same privileges were granted to the clergy called to convocation, and to their servants by act of parliament, of the 8th of the king.—Stat. of Realm, ii. 238.

[2] Rot. Parl. iv. 331, 350, 402; v. 7, 115.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1461.

by the numerous grants which were easily obtained from the benevolence of his disposition. In 1429 it was ascertained that the moneys annually absorbed by the war exceeded the whole amount of the revenue by twenty thousand marks,[1] and four years later the receipts fell short of the expenses of government by the yearly sum of thirty-five thousand pounds; to which were to be added the outstanding debts of the crown, amounting to more than one hundred and forty-four thousand.[2] The only mode of relief which occurred to the financiers of the age was a general resumption of the grants made by the king since his accession; but, though such resumptions were repeatedly enacted, they were always rendered nugatory by the introduction of exceptions, at the demand of the king, or of the members, who sought to screen their friends from the operation of the act.[3] In the meanwhile the ordinary revenue of the crown dwindled to the paltry sum of five thousand pounds; and it became necessary to make parliamentary provisions for the support of the royal household. This was

[1] Rym. x. 413. The receipts in the eleventh year of Henry amounted to about thirty-five thousand pounds; but this sum was reduced to less than one-fourth by fees, wages, and annuities, which had been granted by the crown to different individuals, and had been made payable out of these funds, before they were transferred to the royal treasury. But to the ordinary must be added the extraordinary revenue, which consisted of the customs on wool and skins, and the tonnage and poundage, which, though not always, yet generally, were granted by parliament. This, after the usual deductions had been made, amounted on an average of three years to about twenty-seven thousand pounds. The annual expenses to be defrayed by these funds were classed under the heads of the household about 13,700*l.*; of the government of Ireland, Aquitaine, and the marches of Scotland, 10,900*l.*; of Calais, 11,000*l.*; of the navy, prisoners, &c., 3,700*l.*; of fees and annuities payable at the exchequer, 11,150*l.*; and other annuities at will, 5,500*l.*—Rot. Parl. iv. 433—438.

[2] Ibid. 436—438.

[3] Ibid. v. 183—199, 217—224, 300—320.

effected on some occasions by authorizing the treasurer to devote to that purpose a certain sum out of the moneys voted for different objects; at others by appropriating a certain portion of the revenue to the royal use before any other claims upon it should be satisfied.[1] In defiance, however, of these precautions, the king's debts continued to increase, and long before the termination of his reign they amounted to the sum of three hundred and seventy-two thousand pounds.[2]

[1] Ibid. v. 7, 32, 174, 214, 246.
[2] Rot. Parl. v. 183, 217.

CHAPTER II.

EDWARD IV.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emp. of Germ.	*K. of Scotland.*	*K. of France.*	*K. of Spain.*
Frederic III.	James III.	Charles VII. 1461 Louis XI.	Henry IV. 1474 Isabella Ferdinand

Popes.

Pius II. 1464. Paul II., 1471. Sixtus IV.

EDWARD IS CROWNED — MISFORTUNES OF THE LANCASTRIANS — HENRY VI. IS MADE PRISONER—EDWARD'S MARRIAGE—INSURRECTION—THE KING IMPRISONED BY THE NEVILLES—HIS RELEASE — ANOTHER INSURRECTION — CLARENCE AND WARWICK LEAVE THE REALM—RETURN—EXPEL EDWARD—AND RESTORE HENRY—EDWARD RETURNS—HIS VICTORY AT BARNET—CAPTURE AND DEATH OF HENRY—BATTLE OF TEWKESBURY—WAR WITH FRANCE — PEACE — ATTAINDER OF CLARENCE — DEATH OF THE KING.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1461.

THOUGH Edward had assumed the title of king, he was not ignorant that he held it by a very precarious tenure. The losses and advantages of the two parties were still nearly balanced; and if *he* was acknowledged by the southern, his rival could depend on the support of the northern counties. The earl of Warwick, anxious to bring the question to an issue, marched from London at the head of a body of veterans; Edward in a few days followed with the main army; and by the time of his arrival at Ponte-

March 7.

March 12.

fract, forty-nine thousand men had arrayed themselves under his banner. The preparations of the house of Lancaster were equally formidable. The duke of Somerset with sixty thousand infantry and cavalry lay in the neighbourhood of York; and the queen, who with her husband and son had consented to remain within the city, employed all her address to confirm their loyalty, and animate their courage. Both armies advanced towards Ferrybridge. The March 28. passage had been gained by the lord Fitzwalter on the part of Edward;[1] but that nobleman was surprised and slain by Lord Clifford, who within a few hours met on the same spot with a similar fate from the lord Falconberg. The next day, between the March 29. villages of Towton and Saxton, was fought the battle which fixed the crown on the brow of Edward. The engagement began at nine in the morning amidst a heavy fall of snow; the obstinacy of the combatants protracted it till three in the afternoon. At that hour the Lancastrians began to give way, at first leisurely and in good order; but finding their retreat interrupted by the river Cock, they abandoned themselves to despair, and while some plunged into the torrent, others offered themselves without resistance to the swords of the enemy. Edward had forbidden his followers to give quarter, and as the pursuit and

[1] Who this Lord Fitzwalter was is unknown. Monstrelet makes him uncle to Warwick. The earl when he heard of Fitzwalter's death, exclaimed, "Je prie Dieu, qu'il ayt les ames de ceux qui "sont morts en celle bataille. Beau sire Dieu, ores n'ay je recours "au monde sinon à toy, qui es mon Createur, et mon Dieu; si te "requiers vengeance." Et lors, en tirant son espée, baisa la croix, et dit à ses gens, "qui veult retourner, si s'en voise : car je vivray "ou mourray aujoud'huy avec ceux qui demeurront avec moy." A celle paroles il saillis à pied, et tua son cheval de on espée.—Monst. iii. 84.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1461.

slaughter continued all the night and great part of the following day, one-half of the Lancastrians are said to have perished. The earl of Northumberland and six barons fell in the battle; the earls of Devon and Wiltshire were taken in their flight and beheaded. The dukes of Somerset and Exeter had the good fortune to reach York, and conducted Henry and his family to the borders. The victory was decisive; but it cost the nation a deluge of blood. Besides those who perished in the waters, a contemporary writer assures us that thirty-eight thousand men remained on the field;[1] nor can we reasonably accuse him of exaggeration, since Edward himself, in a confidential letter to his mother, while he conceals his own loss, informs her that the heralds, employed to number the dead bodies, returned the Lancastrians alone at twenty-eight thousand.[2]

From this scene of carnage the conqueror rode towards York, which he entered the next morning. The escape of Henry disappointed his hopes; but during his stay in the city he gave orders that several of his prisoners should be executed, and their heads substituted on the walls for those of his father and brother. From York he proceeded to Newcastle, receiving in his progress the homage of the inhabitants, and watching the motions of the fugitives.

April 25.

Henry, to purchase the aid of the Scots, had delivered to them the town of Berwick, and, while they with a powerful army undertook the reduction of Carlisle, penetrated with a few faithful friends into the county of Durham. He narrowly escaped being taken by the superior number of his enemies; and Carlisle was

[1] Cont. Hist. Croyl. 533. [2] Fenn's Letters, i. 217—220.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1461.

relieved by the lord Montague, who slew six thousand of the besiegers. Edward, who had already left the theatre of war, and hastened to London, was crowned June 1. at Westminster with the usual solemnity, and created June 29. his two youngers brothers, George and Richard, who had returned from their asylum in Flanders, dukes of Clarence and Gloucester.[1]

When the parliament assembled, both houses were Nov. 4. eager to display their attachment to their new sovereign. They first pronounced the reigns of the three last kings a tyrannical usurpation, and declared that Edward had been rightfully seised of the crown and the profits of the realm, from the fourth day of March last, in the same manner as they had been enjoyed by Richard II. on the feast of St. Matthew in the twenty-third year of his reign. With certain exceptions, the grants of Henry IV., V., and VI. were revoked, but their judicial acts were ratified, and the titles of honour which they had conferred were allowed.[2] Next followed a long and sweeping bill of attainder, which extended to almost every man who had distinguished himself in the cause of the house of Lancaster. Henry VI., his queen, their son Edward, the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the earls of Northumberland, Devon, Wiltshire, and Pembroke, the viscount Beaumont, the lords Roos, Neville, Rougemonte, Dacre, and Hungerford, with one hundred and thirty-eight knights, priests, and esquires, were adjudged to suffer all the penalties of treason,

[1] Hall, 86—89. Monstrel. iii. 84. Rym. xi. 476. Fenn, i. 230—235.

[2] Rot. Parl. v. 463—475, 489. Stat. of Realm, ii. 380. But the titles were allowed only on condition that the holders should receive from the king new grants of the annuities attached to them. —Ibid.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1461. the loss of their honours, the forfeiture of their estates, and an ignominious death if they had not already fallen in the field of battle.[1] In defence of such unexampled severity was alleged the advantage of annihilating at once the power of the party; and to this motive was probably added another, the necessity of providing funds, from which Edward might satisfy the demands and expectations of those to whose services he owed the present possession of the crown. Before he dissolved the parliament he addressed the Dec. 21. commons in the following terms: "James Strangways" (he was the speaker), "and ye that be come "for the commons of this land, for the true hearts "and tender considerations that ye have had to my "right and title, I thank you as heartily as I can "Also for the tender and true hearts that ye have "showed unto me, in that ye have tenderly had in "remembrance the correction of the horrible murder "and cruel death of my lord my father, my brother "Rutland, and my cousin of Salisbury, and other, I "thank you right heartily, and I shall be unto you, "with the grace of Almighty God, as good and "gracious sovereign lord as ever was any of my noble "progenitors to their subjects and liegemen. And "for the faithful and loving hearts, and also the great "labours that ye have borne and sustained toward "me in the recovering of my said right and title "which I now possess, I thank you with all my heart, "and if I had any better good to reward you withal "than my body, ye should have it, the which shall "always be ready for your defence, never sparing nor

[1] Rot, Parl. v. 476—486. In the February following the earl of Oxford, the lord Aubrey, and three knights of the Lancastrian party were beheaded on Tower Hill.—Fabyan, 652.

"letting for no jeopardy, praying you all of your hearty "assistance and good countenance, as I shall be unto "you very rightwise, and loving liege lord."[1]

The cause of the red rose now appeared desperate; but it was still supported by the courage and industry of Margaret. The surrender of Berwick had given her a claim to the protection of the Scottish government; and the promise of an English dukedom, with lands to the yearly value of two thousand marks, had secured to her the services of the powerful earl of Angus; while Edward, as a counterpoise, purchased with an annual pension the fealty of the earl of Ross, lord of the isles, and sought to amuse Mary, the queen dowager of Scotland,[2] with a deceitful offer of marriage.[3] To aid her cause Margaret resolved to visit the continent, and invite all true knights to avenge the wrongs of an injured monarch. Sailing from Kirkcudbright, she landed in Bretagne; and the duke made the royal suppliant a present of twelve thousand crowns. From Bretagne she repaired to the French court at Chinon. Louis XI. (his father Charles was lately dead) seemed insensible to the tears of beauty, and the claims of relationship; but, when she offered Calais as a security, he lent her twenty thousand crowns, and permitted Brezé, the seneschal of Normandy, to follow her fortunes with two thousand men. After an absence of five months she returned, eluded the pursuit of the English fleet,

1462. March 17.

1463. April 8.

October.

[1] Ibid. 487. In this parliament it was enacted that no lord or other should allow playing at dice or cards in his house or elsewhere if he could hinder it, except during the twelve days at Christmas. —Ibid. 488.

[2] Her husband James II. had been accidentally killed in 1460 by the bursting of a cannon.

[3] Hume, Douglas, ii. 21. Rym. xi. 484—488. Wyrcest. 493

CHAP. II. A.D. 1463.

and summoned to her standard her Scottish allies on the borders, and the friends of her family in Northumberland. Her hopes were cheered with a temporary gleam of success. Three strong fortresses, Bamborough, Alnwick, and Dunstanburgh, fell into her hands.[1] But when the earl of Warwick arrived with twenty thousand men, and intelligence was received of the advance of Edward with an equal number, the Lancastrians separated to garrison their conquests, and the queen with her French auxiliaries repaired to their ships. The winds and the waves now seemed to have conspired against her; part of her fleet with all her treasures was dashed against the rocks; five hundred foreigners, who intrenched themselves in Holy Island, were killed or made prisoners by the lord Ogle; and Margaret and Brezé in a fishing-boat carried the melancholy intelligence to their friends in Berwick. Edward proceeded no further than Newcastle. He laboured under diseases caused by immoderate indulgence. But Warwick, dividing the royal army into three bodies, besieged at the same time the three fortresses, which made a brave and obstinate resistance.[2] At length Bamborough and Dunstanburgh were surrendered, on condition that the duke of Somerset, Sir Ralph Percy, and some others, should take an oath of fealty to Edward and recover their estates and honours, and that the earl of Pembroke, the lord Roos, and the rest of the two garrisons should be conducted in safety to Scotland.[3] Alnwick

Nov. 3.

Dec. 9.

Dec. 24.

[1] Wyrcest. 493, 494. Duclos, Hist. of Lew. XI. Monstrel. iii. 95.

[2] Fab. 493. Fenn. i. 273—279. Stowe, 416.

[3] The reason of this difference was that the king had it not in his power to restore the lands of the latter, because they had been given away to his friends. So I understand Wyrcester, 495.

still bade defiance to the besiegers; and an army of Lancastrians advanced apparently to its relief. Warwick drew up his forces to receive them; but the lord Hungerford, the son of Brezé, and a few knights having cut their way to their friends in a sally from the walls, Margaret's army retired, and the garrison, deserted by its leaders, capitulated. Edward was satisfied with the conduct of Somerset and Percy on this occasion. He repealed their attainders with the consent of parliament, restored to them their lands, granted a pension of one hundred marks to Somerset, and re-established Percy in the possession of Bamborough and Dunstanburgh. But Alnwick was given to Sir John Ashley, to the great offence of Sir Ralph Grey, a partisan of the Yorkists, who had formerly won it for Edward, and now expected to possess it again.[1]

The spirit and activity of Margaret exposed her during this winter campaign to numerous privations and dangers. On one occasion it is said that, as she was riding secretly with her son and the seneschal through a wild and mountainous district, they were surprised by a party of banditti, who despoiled them of their money, jewels, and every other article of value. It is probable that the queen concealed her

[1] Wyrcest. 494—496. Rot. Parl. v. 511. In this parliament tonnage and poundage were granted to the king for the term of his *natural life*. By tonnage was understood a duty on every ton of wine imported as merchandise; by poundage an ad valorem duty on exports and imports. The object was "the safeguard and custody "of the sea." At first this tax was voted only on particular occasions, and for a very short time. But a vote for life was too valuable a precedent to be forgotten; succeeding monarchs were careful to have it copied in their first parliament; and then, as much time intervened before the meeting of the first parliament, the duties were made payable from the very first day of that meeting, and afterwards from the day of the accession of the new king.—See Stat. of Realm, ii. 24, 433; iii. 21: iv. 22, 218, 382.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1463.

quality, or such distinguished captives would have been more carefully guarded. The ruffians quarrelled about the partition of the booty; menaces were uttered, and swords drawn, when Margaret, watching her opportunity, grasped her son by the arm, and plunged into the thickest part of the wood. She had not proceeded far when another robber made his appearance. The queen, with the intrepidity of despair, advanced to meet him; and taking the young Edward by the hand, "Friend," said she, "I "intrust to your loyalty the son of your king." This address awakened his generosity. He took them both under his protection, and conducted them to the quarters of the Lancastrians.[1] Henry for security had been conveyed to the castle of Hardlough, in Merionethshire, commanded by David ap Jevan ap Eynion, who in defiance of repeated acts of attainder refused to submit to Edward;[2] the queen, accom-

April.

panied by the duke of Exeter, Brezé, and two hundred exiles, sailed to Sluys, in Flanders, and was received with real kindness by the Count of Charolois, and with outward distinction by his father, the duke of Burgundy. To her solicitations in favour of her husband that prince refused to listen; but he gave her a supply of money for her present expenses, and forwarded her in safety as far as the duchy of Bar, in Lorrain, belonging to her father. There she fixed her residence, watching with anxiety the course of events, and consoling her sorrows with the hope of yet placing her husband or her son on the English throne.[3]

[1] Monstrel. iii. 29.

[2] Rot. Parl. v. 486, 512. Monstrelet says that Henry was in Wales in one of the strongest fortresses in the island. I have therefore placed him at Hardlough.—Monst. iii. 96.

[3] Wyrcest. 496, 497. It was said that the duke of Burgundy gave

The Lancastrians, though by the conclusion of an armistice with France and another with Burgundy Edward had cut off the hope of foreign assistance,[1] resolved to try again the fortune of war. Henry was summoned to put himself at the head of a body of exiles and Scots; Somerset, notwithstanding his submission, hastened from his own country, through Wales and Lancashire, to join his former friends; Percy assembled all the adherents of his family; and the resentment of Grey prompted him to surprise the castle of Alnwick, and to hold it against Edward. But their designs were disconcerted by the promptitude of Neville Lord Montague, the warden of the east marches. He defeated and killed Percy at Hedgley Moor, near Wooller,[2] and advanced with four thousand men to surprise Somerset in his camp on the banks of the Dilswater, near Hexham. That unfortunate nobleman, whose forces did not exceed five hundred men, endeavoured to save himself by flight, but was taken, beheaded the same day, and buried in the abbey. Two days later the lords Roos and Hungerford met with the same fate on the Sandhill at Newcastle; and many of their followers were successively executed in that town and at York.[3] Of those who escaped, the major part followed Grey to the castle of Bamborough, which was immediately besieged by the earl of Warwick. Bamborough had been deemed an impregnable fortress; but Warwick had brought with him two of the king's largest iron cannon, called the Newcastle and London, with

1464. April 25.

May 15.

May 17.

May 18. 25, 28.

June 25.

to her 2,000 crowns, 1,000 to Brezé, and one hundred to each of her maids.—Monst. iii. 96.

[1] Rym. x. 508.

[2] The others fled; Percy refused, "and died like a man." Come home fuit occise.—Year-book, Term. Pasch. 4 Ed. IV. 19.

[3] Wyrcest. 597, 498. Fab. 494. Fenn, i. 284.

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which he demolished its defences; and a brass piece called Dyssyon, which "smote thoroughe Sir Rauf "Grey's chamber oftentymes." The havoc caused by the ordnance alarmed the garrison; it chanced June 25. that a large portion of the wall fell, and Grey with it; an offer to surrender was made; and it was agreed that the men should be at the king's "mercy," their commander at the king's "will." They had thought him dead or dying; but he was carefully nursed by the cruelty of his victors, recovered, and was presented to the king at Doncaster.[1] There the following judgment was pronounced upon him by Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, and constable of England: "Sir Ralph Grey, for thy treason the king "had ordained that thou shouldest have thy spurs "stricken off by the hard heels, by the hand of the "master cook, who is here present. Moreover, he "had ordained here as thou mayest see, the kings of "arms and heralds, and thine own proper coat of "arms, which they should tear off thy body, that thou "mightest be degraded as well of thy worship, noblesse, "and arms, as of thy knighthood. Also here is "another coat of thine arms reverse, the which thou "shouldest wear on thy body, going to thy death-"wards, for that belongeth to thee after the law. "Notwithstanding, the degrading thee of knighthood, "and of thine arms, and thy noblesse, the king par-"doneth for the sake of thy noble grandfather, who "suffered trouble for the king's most noble prede-"cessors. Now, Sir Ralph, this shall be thy penance, "thou shalt go on thy feet to the town's end, and "there thou shalt be laid down, and drawn to a scaffold "made for thee, and thou shalt have thy head smitten

[1] Compare Wyrcester, 499, with notes to Warkworth, p. 38.

"off, thy body to be buried in the Friars, and thy "head where the king's pleasure shall be." This sentence was immediately executed.[1]

Henry, who had fled from Hexham before the arrival of Montague, was so closely pursued that three of his henchmen were taken clothed in gowns of blue velvet, and on them was found his bycoket or cap of state, embroidered with two crowns of gold, and ornamented with pearls. He had however the good fortune to escape, and sought an asylum among the natives of Lancashire and Westmoreland, a people sincerely devoted to his interests.[2] Their fidelity enabled him for more than a year to elude the vigilance and researches of the government; but he was at last betrayed by the perfidy of Cantlow, a monk of Abingdon, and taken by the servants of Sir James Harrington of Brierley, in or near to Waddington-hall, in Yorkshire.[3] At Islington the unfortunate king was met by the earl of Warwick, who ordered by proclamation that no one should show him any respect, tied his feet to the stirrups as a prisoner, led him thrice round the pillory, and conducted him to the Tower. There he was placed in the custody of two

1465. June.

[1] Wyrcest. 499. Stowe, 418. In the Year-book it is said that the degrading part of the sentence was actually carried into execution: et le cause del cel punishment de luy en tiel maner, fuit per cause de son perjury et doublenesse, que il avoit fait al roy Henry le size jadis roy, &c.—et auxy al roy Edward le quart, qui ore est. —Term. Pasch. 4 Ed. IV. 20.

[2] He was during this time frequently concealed in the house of John Machell, at Crakenthorp, in Westmoreland.—Rym. xi. 575.

[3] Rym. xi. 548. Wyrcest. 504. Fab. 494. Monstrel. iii. 119. Harrington received for his services the lands belonging to Tunstal of Thurland Castle, to the amount of 100*l.* per annum; his associates, who were principally Tempests of Bracewell, and Talbots of Bashall, had annuities out of Bolland and Tickel, till they could be provided with lands.—Rot. Parl. v. 584. Waddington Hall belonged to the Tempests.

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esquires and two yeomen of the crown; but was treated with humanity, and allowed to enjoy the company of persons who did not excite suspicion.[1]

After the flight from Hexham, the Lancastrians abandoned the contest; and the conqueror had leisure to reward his partisans, and attend to the confirmation of his throne. Lord Montague was created earl of Northumberland, and Lord Herbert earl of Pembroke; another long list of attainders contributed to exhaust the resources of his opponents and to add to those of his own partisans; and an act of resumption was passed to enable the king to live on the income of the crown, but clogged, as usual, with so many exceptions, as to render it useless.[2] From internal polity he turned his thoughts to his relations with foreign states. To the pope he had already notified his accession, and sent an abstract of the arguments on which he founded his claim. The answer of Pius II. was civil, but guarded; and, while the pontiff congratulated the king on his elevation to the regal dignity, he cautiously abstained from any expression

May 27.

[1] Warkworth, p. 5.

[2] Rot. Parl. v. 511—548. In this parliament was made a law respecting dress, forbidding any man or woman under the estate of a lord to wear cloth of gold, or cloth wrought with gold, or furs of sables; any person under the estate of a knight to wear velvet, satin, or silk made like to velvet or satin, or furs of ermine; any yeoman to wear stuffing in his doublet but only the lining; or any one under the estate of a lord to wear gown, jacket, or cloak, which did not reach to his thighs, or shoes with pikes above two inches in length.—Rot. Parl. v. 504. "Ever since the year 1382," says Stowe, "the pikes of shoes and boots were of such length that they "were fain to be tied up to their knees with chains of silver, or at "the least with silk laces."—Stowe, 429. Such interference with private expenditure was very common, and at the same time very useless. Its object, as we learn from the Rolls, was to prevent "the "impoverishment of the realm," by the sums of money sent into "strange countries" in exchange for articles of luxury.—Rot. Parl. ibid.

which might be deemed an approbation of his title.[1] With Scotland, which had so long offered an asylum to his enemies, Edward concluded a peace for fifteen, and afterwards prolonged it for fifty-five years. What measures the policy of Louis of France might have pursued, is uncertain; but that monarch was so harassed by the war of "the public good," as it was called, that he had no leisure or temptation to intermeddle with the concerns of foreign states; and the two most powerful of the French princes, the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, had entered into alliances defensive and offensive with the new king of England. Treaties almost similar were signed between him and the kings of Denmark and Poland in the north and east, and those of Castile and Arragon in the south, so that he might consider himself on terms of amity with almost all the great powers of Europe.[2]

In these circumstances the king no longer hesitated to acknowledge in public a marriage which he had some time before contracted in private. Ever since the battle of Towton he had resigned the management of affairs to the wisdom and activity of the Nevilles, and had devoted his own attention to the pursuit of pleasure. They had frequently urged him to marry into some royal or princely family, which might con-

[1] Rym. xi. 489. This pontiff had always favoured Henry, though his legate, Francesco Copini, bishop of Terni, had favoured Richard duke of York, and his son Edward. He had even presumed to excommunicate their opponents; and the pontiff in consequence had deposed him, and sent him to a monastery to do penance for life.—Raynald. vii. 68, 122, 123. It would appear, however, that he was afterward liberated; for Edward appointed him his procurator in the court of Rome, granted to him an annuity of 100*l.*, gave him permission to distribute the royal livery to twelve of his friends, and authorized him and his two brothers to bear on the upper part of their coat of arms the white rose, the device of the house of York. All these grants were confirmed by parliament.—Rym. xi. 479, 480.

[2] Rot. Parl. v. 622. Rym. xi. 525, 532, 536, 551, 557, &c.

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tribute to support him against his competitor; but the king felt no inclination to shackle himself with the chains of matrimony; and foreign princes were not anxious to offer their daughters to one whose claim to the crown was disputed, and whose possession of it was still precarious. It chanced that Edward visited Jacquetta, the duchess of Bedford, and her husband Wydevile, Lord Rivers, at Grafton, where he saw their daughter Elizabeth, a woman of superior beauty and accomplishments, and the relict of Sir John Grey, a Lancastrian, who had fallen at the second battle of St. Alban's. The lady Grey seized the opportunity to throw herself at the feet of her sovereign, and solicited him to reverse the attainder of her late husband in favour of her destitute children. The king pitied the suppliant; and that pity soon grew into love. To marry a woman so far beneath him, without the advice of his council, and at a moment when his throne tottered under him, was a dangerous experiment. But the virtue of Elizabeth was proof against the arts of the royal lover, and his passion scorned the cooler calculations of prudence.

1464. April 30. About the end of April, 1464, when the friends of Henry were assembling their forces in Northumberland, he repaired to Stony Stratford, whence early on the morning of the first of May he stole in great

May 1. secrecy to Grafton. The marriage ceremony was performed by a priest in the presence of his clerk, of the duchess of Bedford, and of two female attendants. After an hour or two Edward returned to Stony Stratford, and pretending lassitude from hunting, shut himself up in his chamber. Two days

May 3. afterwards he invited himself to Grafton. To divert the attention of the courtiers, their time was wholly

occupied with the pleasures of the chase; nor did the king and Elizabeth ever meet in private till the duchess had ascertained that the whole family had retired to rest. Thus he spent four days; and then returning to London, issued orders for his army to join him in Yorkshire. But before his arrival in the north the war had been ended by the two victories of Hedgley Moor and Hexham; and after his return it became the principal subject of his solicitude to open the matter to his counsellors, and to obtain their approbation.[1]

CHAP. II. A.D. 1464. — May 7, 10.

For this purpose he summoned at Michaelmas a general council of the peers to meet in the abbey of Reading; and the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, though they are supposed to have disapproved of the marriage, taking Elizabeth by the hand, introduced her to the rest of the lords, by whom, in the presence of the king, she was acknowledged and complimented as queen. Soon afterwards a second council was held at Westminster, and an income was settled on her of four thousand marks a year.[2] But,

Dec.

[1] By all our ancient historians, with the exception of the unknown author of the Fragment published by Hearne at the end of Sprot, the marriage of Edward has been fixed on the first of May, 1464. That writer dates it in the preceding year (p. 293): and it has been urged in favour of the earlier date, that Edward in 1464 was too much occupied with the war to think of marriage, and that the anonymous writer expressly refutes from his own knowledge those who place it later.—Carte, ii. 770. But it may be observed that, according to the dates in Rymer, the king did not summon his army till the ninth day after that on which the marriage is said to have taken place, and that the anonymous writer refutes, not those who place the marriage in a different year, but those who say the king was to have married the dowager queen of Scotland (p. 293, 294). Indeed he is at variance with himself. For though he places the marriage in 1463, he says it was in the same year as the battle of Hexham (292), which certainly took place in 1464. For the particulars of the marriage see that writer, and Fabyan, p. 494, 495.

Wyrcest. 500, 501.

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notwithstanding this outward show of approbation, there were many who murmured in private, and could ill disguise their jealousy at the elevation to the throne of a woman, whose father a few years ago was no more than a simple knight. To excuse the king, his friends circulated reports, that his inexperience had been deceived by the arts of the duchess and her daughter; that philtres and magic had been employed to extort his consent; and that he had since repented of his precipitancy, and struggled, but in vain, to dissolve the marriage.[1] But Edward himself, that he might silence those who objected the meanness of her birth, invited her maternal uncle, James of Luxemburg, who with a retinue of one hundred knights and gentlemen attended her coronation.[2] On the

1465. May 23.

feast of the Ascension the king created thirty-eight knights of the Bath, of whom four were prudently selected from the citizens of London. The next day the mayor, aldermen, and different companies met the queen at Shooter's Hill, and conducted her in state to the Tower. On the Saturday, to gratify the curiosity of the populace, she rode in a horse litter through the principal streets, preceded by the newly created knights. Her coronation followed on the Sunday,

May 26

and the rest of the week was devoted to feasting, tournaments, and public rejoicings.[3]

The elevation of Elizabeth was the elevation of her family. By the influence of the king her five sisters were married to five young noblemen, the duke of Buckingham, the heir of the earl of Essex, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Kent, and the lord Herbert; her brother Anthony to the daughter of the late lord

[1] Fab. 495. [2] Monstrel. iii. 105.
[3] Wyrcest. 501—503. Fragment, ad fin. Sprot, 204, 295.

Scales, with whom he obtained the estate and title; her younger brother John in his twentieth year to Catherine, the dowager but opulent duchess of Norfolk, in her eightieth;[1] and her son Thomas by her former husband, to Anne, the king's niece, daughter and heiress to the duke of Exeter. We are assured by a contemporary that these marriages were viewed with jealousy by most of the nobility. Many saw those projects disconcerted which they had formed for the advancement of their own children, particularly the earl of Warwick, who had previously solicited the hand of the heiress of Exeter for his own nephew; all considered the sudden rise of the new family as an injury offered to themselves. To add to their discontent, the lord Mountjoy, treasurer of England, was removed to make place for the queen's father, who was created Earl Rivers, and soon afterwards, on the resignation of the earl of Worcester, was made lord high constable.[2]

Of the three Nevilles, sons of the earl of Salisbury, George, the youngest brother, bishop of Exeter, had received the seals on Edward's accession, and had lately been translated to the archiepiscopal see of York.[3] The next, the lord Montague, was warden of the east marches of Scotland, and with the title of the earl of Northumberland had obtained the estates of the Percies. The earl of Warwick, the third, had hitherto been the king's chief minister and general. He held

[1] Juvencula fere 80 annorum.—Wyrcest. 501. On account of the disparity of their ages, Wyrcester calls this maritagium diabolicum. But adds, vindicta Bernardi inter eosdem postea patuit.—Ibid. What was the vindicta Bernardi?

[2] Wyrcest. 500, 501, 505, 506, 507.

[3] The reader may see the particulars of the feast at his installation, and the names of the guests, in Lel. Coll. vi. 1—14.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1465.

the wardenship of the west marches towards Scotland, the office of chamberlain, and the government of Calais, the most lucrative and important appointment in the gift of the sovereign.[1] Hitherto they had governed the king and the kingdom; now they foresaw the diminution of their influence by the ascendancy of a rival family. Edward had grown weary of the state of tutelage in which they detained him; the Wydeviles urged him to emancipate himself from the control of his own servants; and his affections were insensibly transferred from the men who had given him the title, to those who exhorted him to exercise the authority of a king. This coldness was first made public in the year 1467. A marriage had some time before been suggested between Margaret, the king's sister, and Charles, count of Charolois, son to the duke of Burgundy, who, as he was sprung from the house of Lancaster, had always favoured the friends of Henry, but now, from motives of policy, sought an alliance with Edward to protect himself against his adversary the king of France. Warwick, who at the Burgundian court had become the determined enemy of Charles,[2] condemned the project and advised a marriage with one of the French princes. To his arguments were opposed the advantages which would result from the intended alliance, both to the

1466. March 22.

[1] Comines, who was often at Calais, tell us, on the authority of the chief officer of the staple, that the government of that town was worth 15,000 crowns a year.—Com. l. iii. c. 4.—Stowe adds that Warwick was a great favourite with the people, on account of his hospitality. "When he came to London, he held such an house, "that six oxen were eaten at a breakfast, and every tavern was full "of his meat; for who that had any acquaintance in that house, he "should have as much sodden (boiled) and roast as he might carry "upon a long dagger."—Stowe, 421.

[2] Cont. Hist. Croyl. 551. Capitali odio prosecutus est hominem illum, scilicet Carolum.—Ibid.

king, by converting the enemy of his family into a friend, and to the nation, by affording greater facility to the commercial intercourse between England and the Netherlands. Edward, however, perhaps to free himself from an imperious counsellor, commissioned Warwick to treat with the king of France, who received him at Rouen with all the respect due to a sovereign prince; assigned to him for his residence the house next to his own, and by a private door repeatedly visited him in secret for the space of twelve days.[1] In England, when the parliament assembled, the chancellor did not attend, on account of a real or affected sickness; but Edward, whose suspicions had been awakened by the conferences between Warwick and the French king, went to the house of the prelate with a numerous retinue, required him to deliver up the seals, and, in virtue of an act of resumption passed at the time, took from him two manors, which he had formerly obtained from the crown.[2] About the same time, the bastard of Burgundy arrived, avowedly to perform feats of arms with the lord Scales, by whom he had been challenged, though public suspicion assigned to him a secret and more important object, the negotiation of the intended marriage. The tournament took place;[3] but a few days later the duke of Burgundy died, and the bastard immediately departed with his retinue. Warwick then returned, bringing with him ambassadors from France, whose object it was to prevent the alliance between Edward and Charles. They had been instructed to offer to the king an annual pension from Louis, and to consent

CHAP. II. A.D. 1466.

1467. May 6.

June 8.

May 30.

June 11.

June 15.

June 21

July 1.

[1] Monstrel. App. 22. Fragment, 227.

[2] Rym. xi. 578.

[3] See the ancient and interesting accounts of the origin and performance of this tournament in Excerpt. Hist. 176—222.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1467.

that his pretensions to Normandy and Aquitaine should be referred to the decision of the pope, who should be bound to give judgment within four years. But Edward received them coldly, left the capital, and appointed an inferior agent to hear, or rather to reject, their proposals. The earl by increased attention sought to compensate for the neglect of the king; but he was not sparing of hints and menaces in the company of his friends, and on the departure of the ambassadors retired in discontent to his castle at Middleham in Yorkshire.[1] During his absence the treaty was resumed with Charles, now duke of Burgundy; the princess gave her consent to the marriage in a great council of peers at Kingston; and soon afterwards an emissary from Queen Margaret, who had been taken in Wales, informed the king that Warwick was considered in the French court a secret partisan of the house of Lancaster. As the earl refused to quit his castle, he was confronted with his accuser at Middleham; and though the charge was declared to be groundless, the king selected a body-guard of two hundred archers, who were ordered to attend always on his person. Every thing seemed to threaten a rupture, when their common friends interfered, by whose means the archbishop of York and the earl Rivers met at Nottingham, and settled the terms of reconciliation. The prelate conducted his brother to Coventry, where he was graciously received by the king; all subjects of offence between him and the lords Herbert, Stafford, and Audeley were reciprocally forgiven; and the archbishop, as the reward of his services, recovered the possession of

Sept. 20.

Oct. 1.

1468. Jan. 8.

[1] Wyrcest. 510. Duclos, Hist. of Louis XI.

his two manors.[1] In the course of the year Warwick appeared again at court, and again in favour. When Edward conducted his sister to the coast, on her way to Flanders, she rode behind the earl through the streets of the metropolis;[2] and on the discovery of a conspiracy in favour of Henry, he sat among the judges on the trial of the accused. But these outward appearances of harmony and confidence did not deceive the people: they foresaw the storm which was gathering; and while they pitied the real or imaginary wrongs of their favourite, laid the blame on the ambition of the queen and her relatives.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1468. June 18.

I have been the more particular in these details, that the reader might observe the origin and progress of the jealousies and dissensions which dissolved the friendship between Warwick and Edward, and led to the flight of the latter and the restoration of Henry.[3] But with respect to most of the events

1469.

[1] The grant of the manors is dated 1469 in Rymer (x. 642), which proves that Wyrcester is wrong, unless it be a second grant for greater security.

[2] Frag. ad fin. Sprot. p. 296. "The Erle of Warrewyke riding "before hur on hur hors."—Cot. MS. Nero, c. ix. Excerpt. Hist. 227. She rode that day to Stratford priory; the next morning, leaving there the king and queen, she made a pilgrimage to Canterbury, and was rejoined by them at Margate. From that port she sailed on July the 1st, landed the next day at Sluys, on the 4th was visited secretly by the duke, and affianced to him, on the 9th removed to Damme near Bruges, and on Sunday, the 10th, was married to him in the church, between five and six in the morning. So the writer of the journal in the MS., probably a herald in her suite, John Paston, who was also present, states that they were married on the Sunday at five in the morning, dating his letter on the Friday after St. Thomas, which must be July the 15th, the Friday after the octave of the festival.—Fenn, ii. 4.

[3] Warkworth (p. 3) and several modern writers state that at the time of the king's secret marriage with Elizabeth, Warwick was in France, negotiating on the part of the king a marriage with Bona of Savoy, sister to the queen of France; and having succeeded in his mission, brought back with him the count of Dampmartin as am-

CHAP. II. A.D. 1469.

which follow, he must be content with a bare and very imperfect narrative; for though they were extraordinary in their nature, and most important in their results, yet in the confused and mutilated records of the time, it is almost impossible to discover the immediate causes by which they were produced, or the secret relations which connected them with each other.

1. George, the elder of the surviving brothers of Edward, had received with the title of duke of Clarence a proportionate income, and had been named to the lieutenancy of Ireland, which office, on account of his age, he was permitted to execute by his deputy the earl of Worcester. This young prince, dissatisfied at the ascendancy of the Wydeviles, absented himself frequently from court, and preferred

bassador from Louis. This, they say, was the origin of the quarrel between Edward and Warwick; but to me the whole story appears a fiction. 1. If we except Warkworth, it was unknown to our ancient writers. 2. Warwick was not at the time in France. On the 20th of April, ten days before the marriage, he was employed in negotiating a truce with the French envoys in London (Rym. xi. 521), and on the 26th of May, about three weeks after it, was appointed to treat of another truce with the king of Scots.—Rym, xi. 424. 3. Nor could he bring Dampmartin with him to England; for that nobleman was committed a prisoner to the Bastile in September, 1463, and remained there till May, 1465.—Monstrel. iii. 97, 109. Three contemporary and well-informed writers, the two continuators of the History of Croyland and Wyrcester, attribute his discontent to the marriages and honours granted to the Wydeviles, and the marriage of the princess Margaret with the duke of Burgundy; a fourth tells us, from the mouth of Edward himself, that the king's suspicion of Warwick's fidelity arose from the secret conferences of that nobleman with Louis at Rouen; and a fifth that Edward had made an attempt in the earl's house to violate the chastity of his niece or daughter.—Graften, 439. See Cont. Hist. Croyl. 542, 55; Wyrcester, 504—510; Fragment, 299. According to the statement of the Spanish ambassador in the next reign (Ellis, 2nd ser i. 152), the foreign princess proposed to Edward by Warwick, was Isabella of Castile; she was then in her fourteenth year, and afterwards succeeded her brother Henry IV. on the throne.

to the company of his brother that of the earl of Warwick. Another cause for this preference may, perhaps, be found in the attachment which he had formed for Isabella, the daughter of that nobleman. Clarence was yet the next male heir to the throne; and Edward, aware of the ambition of Warwick, earnestly laboured to prevent the marriage of the parties. His efforts were ineffectual; and the ceremony was performed without his consent, in the church of St. Nicholas at Calais, by the uncle of the bride, the archbishop of York. 1460. July 11

2. It was a singular coincidence that at the very time when this prelate and his brother met at Calais to celebrate the marriage in defiance of the king, an insurrection should burst forth in that part of the realm where they possessed the principal influence. Its ostensible cause was the determination of the farmers of Yorkshire to resist the demand of a thrave of corn from every ploughland, made by the warden of the hospital of St. Leonard's. The thrave had been paid since the time of king Athelstan; and at the beginning of the last reign, when it had been withheld by some, was confirmed to the hospital by act of parliament;[1] now, however, when the officers attempted to levy its value by distress, the peasants flew to arms, chose for their leader Robert Hilyard, commonly called Robin of Redesdale, and threatened to march to the south, and reform the abuses of government. The citizens of York were alarmed by the approach of fifteen thousand insurgents; but the earl of Northumberland, Warwick's brother, to prevent the destruction of the city, attacked and defeated

[1] Stat. of Realm, ii. 217.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1460.

them with considerable slaughter. Their leader was executed on the field of battle.

3. This circumstance seems to acquit one of the Nevilles from all share in the insurrection; yet his subsequent inactivity, and the conduct of his two brothers, prove that, whatever were its original cause, they were willing at least to convert it to their own purposes. Northumberland could, if he had pleased, have instantly extinguished the flame; he carelessly looked on, till it grew into a general conflagration. The rebels, though repulsed, were neither dispersed nor pursued; and in the place of the leader whom they had lost, they found two others of more illustrious name, and more powerful connections, the sons of the lords Fitzhugh and Latimer—the one the nephew the other the cousin-german of Warwick. These young men, though nominally at the head of the army, in reality obeyed the commands of Sir John Conyers, an old and experienced officer. The claim of the hospital was now forgotten. Their avowed object was to meet the earl of Warwick, that with his advice they might remove from the king's councils the Wydeviles, the authors of the taxes that impoverished and of the calamities that oppressed the nation. At the name of Warwick his tenants crowded from every quarter; and in a few days the insurgents were said to amount to sixty thousand men.[1]

[1] During this insurrection reports of witchcraft were circulated against Jacquetta, the king's mother-in-law. She afterwards exhibited the following complaint to Edward: "To the king, our "sovereign lord, sheweth, and lamentably complaineth unto your "highness your humble and true liege woman Jacquetta, duchess "of Bedford . . . . that when she at all time hath and yet doth "truly believe on God according to the faith of holy church, as a "true Christian woman ought to do, yet Thomas Wake, Esq. . . . . "hath caused her to be brought in a common noise and disclander of

CHAP. II. A.D. 1460.

On the first intelligence of the rising in Yorkshire Edward had summoned his retainers; and in the interval having visited the monasteries in Suffolk and Norfolk, fixed his head-quarters at the castle of Fotheringay. Here the advance of the insurgents, their increasing numbers, and their menaces of vengeance, intimidated him. The whole population had been thrown into a ferment by the circulation of "bills of articles," as they were called, under the double title of "complaints and petitions of the king's "faithful commons and true subjects." It was complained that he had debased the coin, and raised money by new and grievous impositions, by forced loans, and by heavy fines the consequence of vexatious prosecutions, which within the last year only had amounted to more than 200,000 marks. But did he not possess the "livelihood" of the English crown, of the principality of Wales, of the duchies of Lancaster, Cornwall, and York, of the earldoms of Chester and March, and of the lordship of Ireland? How came it then that he could be in need of money? It was because he was surrounded by "seducious persons," who abused his generosity, and, by impoverishing him, enriched themselves—the queen's father, her step-mother, her

"witchcraft throughout a great part of your realm, surmising that she "should have used witchcraft and sorcery, insomuch as the said Wake "caused to be brought to Warwick at your last being there, sovereign "lord" (he was then in the custody of Clarence, Warwick, and the archbishop), "to divers of the lords being there present, an image of "lead made like a man-at-arms, containing the length of a man's "finger, and broken in the middle, and made fast with a wire, say-"ing that it was made by your said oratrice, to use with the said "witchcraft and sorcery; where she, nor none for her or by her, "ever saw it, God knoweth." Of course her innocence was admitted by the king.—Rot. Parl. vi. 232. I have mentioned this, that the reader may see on what frivolous grounds these accusations were brought, and how anxious the highest personages were to guard against them.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1460.

brother, the lord Audeley, Sir John Fogg, treasurer of the household, and Herbert and Stafford, lately created earls of Pembroke and Devon. It was therefore the humble petition of his faithful commons, that he would call around him the lords of his blood, and the nobles of the realm; and with their advice inflict on those seducious persons that punishment which they deserved.[1]

1469. July 9.

From Fotheringay Edward advanced to Newark; but, alarmed at the disaffection which he observed on his march, he dispatched letters written with his own hand to his brother Clarence, the earl of Warwick, and the archbishop, requesting them to hasten to him at Nottingham with the same retinue which usually attended them in time of peace. In the note to Warwick he added these significant words: "and we do "not believe that ye should be of any such disposition "towards *us*, as the rumour here runneth, considering "the trust and affection we bear you. And, cousin, "ne think but ye shall be to us welcome." But these noblemen had no intention to abandon the cause for which they had fomented the insurrection in the north. On the contrary, they summoned all their friends in Kent and the neighbouring counties to

July 15.

meet them in arms on the Sunday following at Canterbury, for the avowed purpose of proceeding in company to the king, and laying before him the petitions of the commons.[2] To Edward there remained but one source of hope, the speedy arrival of the earls of Pembroke and Devon. The former, who

[1] See copies of the bills in Mr. Halliwell's notes to Warkworth, p. 46.

[2] The king's letters are in Fenn, ii. 40. The summons is in note to Warkworth, p. 46.

had lately reduced the strong castle of Hardlough, was hastening with eight or ten thousand Welshmen to the aid of his sovereign; the latter followed with equal rapidity, leading a numerous body of archers, whon he had collected among the retainers of his family. They entered Banbury together, but quarrelled in an evil hour about their quarters, and Pembroke, leaving Devon in possession, marched onwards to Edgecoat. Lord Fitzhugh, with the insurgents, was already in the neigbourhood. He did not suffer the opportunity to escape him, but brought his whole force to bear on the Welshmen, who, separated from their friends, and without archers, offered an easy victory to the multitude of their enemies. Two thousand are said to have perished on the field of battle; Pembroke and his brother were taken and put to death. This defeat extinguished the hopes of Edward. He could not find a man to draw the sword in his favour. The troops whom he had arrayed slipped away from their colours; and his favourite sought for safety in concealment. But the earl Rivers, the queen's father, was discovered with his son Sir John Wydevile in the forest of Deane, and the earl of Devon was taken by the commons of Somersetshire at Bridgewater. All three were beheaded, by the order, it was said, of Warwick, more probably because their names occurred in the list of proscription appended to the petition of the king's true subjects.[1]

4. The king's brother and the two Nevilles, having arrayed their partisans at Canterbury, proceeded in search of Edward, whom they found at Olney, plunged

[1] See Cont. Hist. Croyl. 543, 551; Fragment, 300, 301; Warkworth, 6, 7 · Stowe, 422.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1469.

in the deepest distress at the defeat of Pembroke and the desertion of his army. At the first interview they approached him with all those expressions of respect which are due from the subject to the sovereign; and Edward, deceived by these appearances, freely acquainted them with his suspicions and displeasure. But his imprudence was soon checked by the discovery that he was in reality their captive; and he hastily accepted those excuses which it would have been dangerous to refuse. The few royalists who had remained with the king dispersed with the permission of Warwick. At his command the insurgents returned to their homes laden with plunder; and Edward accompanied the two brothers to Warwick, whence, for greater security, he was removed to Middleham, in the custody of the archbishop.[1]

[1] Cont. Hist. Croyl. 543, 551. By modern writers the captivity of Edward has been scornfully rejected. Hume says it is contradicted by records. Carte and Henry pronounce it incredible and romantic. But, if it were, they should have accounted for what in that case were more inconceivable, the mention which is made of it by almost every writer of the age, whether foreign or native, even by Commines (iii. 4), who says that he received the principal incidents of Edward's history from the mouth of Edward himself, and by the annalist of Croyland (551), who was high in the confidence of that monarch. Hume's arguments are, 1. That the records in Rymer allow of no interval for the imprisonment of Edward in 1470; and, 2. That it is not mentioned, as, if it had happened, it must have been, in the proclamation of Edward against Clarence and Warwick of the same year. But, in the first place, he has mistaken the date of the imprisonment, which was not in 1470, but in 1469 (ea ætate quæ contingebat anno nono regis, qui erat annus Domini 1469.—Cont. Croyl. 551); and, in the second, the proclamation ought not to have named it; because it confines itself to the enumeration of those offences only which had been committed after the pardon granted to them at Christmas, 1469 (Rot. Parl. vi. 233). But there is a record which places the existence of imprisonment beyond a doubt, the attainder of Clarence, in which the king enumerates it among his offences; "as in jupartyng the king's royall estate, per-"sone and life *in straite warde*, putting him thereby from all his "libertie, aftre procurying grete commocions."—Rot. Parl. vi. 193.

England exhibited at this moment the extraordinary spectacle of two rival kings, each confined in prison, Henry in the Tower, Edward in Yorkshire. In such circumstances, Warwick may have hoped to place his son-in-law, Clarence, on the throne; but all his plans were defeated by the activity of the Lancastrians, who seized the opportunity to unfurl the standard of Henry in the marches of Scotland, under Sir Humphrey Neville.[1] The conduct of the earl proved that the suspicions previously entertained of his acting in concert with the partisans of that monarch were groundless. He summoned all the lieges of Edward to oppose the rebels; but the summons was disregarded, and men refused to fight in defence of a prince of whose fate they were ignorant. He therefore found it necessary to exhibit the king in public at York, having first obtained from him a grant of the office of justiciary of South Wales, and of all the other dignities held by the late earl of Pembroke. From York he marched into the north, defeated the Lancastrians, and conducted their leader to Edward, by whom he was condemned to lose his head on a scaffold. By what arguments or promises the king procured his liberty, we know not.[2] A private treaty was signed: he repaired to the capital, accompanied by several lords of the party; and his return was hailed by his own friends as little short of a miracle.

August 17.

I may add, that in the records in Rymer for 1469 there is a sufficient interval of three months from the 12th of May to the 17th of August, the very time assigned to the insurrection and imprisonment.

[1] Sir Humphrey had fled from the defeat at Hexham in 1464, and concealed himself during five years in a cave, opening into the river Derwent.—Year-book, Ter. Pasch. 4 Ed. IV. 20.

[2] "By fayre spache and promyse the kynge scaped oute of the "Bisshoppes hands."—Warkworth, p. 7.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1469. Nov. 6.

A council of peers was now summoned, in which, after many negotiations, Clarence and his father-in-law condescended to justify their conduct. Edward with apparent cheerfulness accepted their apology, and a general pardon was issued in favour of all persons who had borne arms against the king from the first rising in Yorkshire under Robin of Redesdale, to the time when they were dismissed by the earl of Warwick at Olney.[1]

5. Elizabeth had not yet borne her husband a son, and though the eldest daughter was but four years old, Edward in this assembly asked the advice of the lords, how he should dispose of the young princess in marriage. For his own part, he wished to give her to George, the son of the earl of Northumberland, and presumptive heir to all the three Nevilles. His choice was unanimously approved; and the young nobleman, that his rank might approach nearer to that of his intended bride, was created duke of Bedford. This

[1] The account of Edward's escape which is generally given is, that the archbishop allowed him to hunt, and that one day, while he was employed in that exercise, he was carried off by his friends. —Hall, 203. That which I have given depends on the superior authority of the historian of Croyland, who, while he considers the king's liberation almost miraculous, yet asserts that it had the express consent of Warwick. Præter omnem spem pene miraculose non tam evasit, quam de expresso ipsius comitis consensu dimissus est (p. 551). Stowe mentions Edward's promises, and that he remained at York till after the execution of Sir Humphrey Neville (p. 421). In Fenn there is a letter without date, which I believe refers to this period. It relates the king's return from York to London in company with the archbishop, who, however, was not permitted to enter the capital with him, but ordered to remain at the Moor, his seat in Hertforshire. The earl of Oxford, a Lancastrian, was treated in the same manner.—"The king," adds the writer, "hath himself good language of the lords of Clarence and "Warwick, and of my lords of York and Oxford, saying they be his "best friends; but his houshold men have other language, so that "what shall hastily fall, I cannot say."—Fenn. i. 294.

extraordinary measure has been explained on two suppositions; either that the king, alarmed at the marriage between his brother and the daughter of Warwick, sought to raise up a new and opposite interest in the family; or that, as the price of his liberation, he had promised to give his daughter to this young man, the son of a brother who had never offended him, and the nephew of the two brothers who kept him in confinement. A.D. 1469.

6. To those who were not in the confidence of the parties, their reconciliation appeared sincere. For greater security, a pardon for all offences committed before the feast of Christmas was granted to Clarence and Warwick; and in consequence of the restoration of peace within the realm, proposals were made to invade France in concert with the king's brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy. The French ambassadors, 1470.
who came over probably to learn the state of the different parties, were so much deceived, that Louis XI., in consequence of their representations, published an order to all his subjects to meet in arms on the first of May, that they might be in readiness to repel the treatened invasion.[1] Yet under this outward appearance of harmony, distrust and resentment festered in their breasts; and a singular occurrence proved how little faith was to be given to the protestations uttered on either side. The archbishop had invited the king to meet Clarence and Warwick at an entertainment which he designed to give at his seat at the Moor, in Hertforshire. As Edward was washing his hands before supper, John Ratcliffe, afterwards Lord Fitz-walter, whispered in his ear that one hundred armed men were lying in wait to

[1] Monstrel. addit. p. 33.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1470. Feb.

surprise and convey him to prison. Without inquiring into the grounds of the information, he stole to the door, mounted a horse, and rode with precipitation to Windsor. His abrupt departure revived all the former dissensions; fresh conferences were held at Baynard's castle, under the mediation of Cecily, duchess of York, the king's mother; and a new reconciliation was effected, equally insincere with those which had preceded it.[1]

7. During these conferences an insurrection burst out in Lincolnshire, of which the king could at first discover neither the real object nor the authors. The inhabitants, provoked by the extortions of the officers of the household, rose in arms, chased Sir Robert Burgh, a purveyor, out of the county, burnt his mansion, and pillaged his estates. This outrage, and the fear of punishment, bound them more strongly to each other, and emboldened Sir Robert Welles, a partisan of Warwick, and the real instigator of the rising, to place himself openly at their head. The king com-

March 7.

missioned several persons, and among them the duke and earl, to levy troops for his service; and before he left London sent for the Lord Welles, father of Sir Robert, and for Sir Thomas Dymock, the champion, to appear before the council.[2] They wavered, obeyed the summons, then fled to a sanctuary, and afterwards, on a promise of pardon, repaired

[1] Fragment, 302. Fab. 499. The author of the Fragment is singularly unfortunate in his dates. He places this incident in the present year after Easter. Yet it is evident from authentic records, and subsequent events, that if it happened at all, it must have happened before Lent.

[2] Rym. xi. 652. Sir John Paston in one of his letters says, "My "lord of Warwick, as it is supposed, shall go with the king into "Lincolnshire; some men say that his going shall do good, some "say that it doth harm."—Fenn, ii. 32.

to the court. Edward insisted that Lord Welles should employ his paternal authority, and command his son to submit to the royal mercy; but the young man at the same time received letters from Warwick and Clarence, exhorting him to persevere, and assuring him of speedy and powerful aid. When the king had reached Stamford, and found that Sir Robert was yet in arms, he ordered, in violation of his promise, the father and Dymock to be beheaded; and sent a second summons to Sir Robert, who indignantly replied, that he would never trust to the perfidy of the man who had murdered his parent. This answer was, however, dictated by resentment and despair. The king attacked the insurgents at Erpingham, in Rutlandshire: his artillery mowed down their ranks; their leaders were taken; and while the meaner prisoners were dismissed, Sir Thomas Delalaunde and Sir Robert Welles paid the forfeit of their lives. Their confessions show that the insurrection had been got up at the instigation of Clarence and Warwick, that a confidential emissary from the duke regulated the movements of the force, and that the avowed object was to raise Clarence to the throne in place of his brother Edward.[1] They had received orders to avoid an engagement, and to march into Leicestershire; but chance or mismanagement brought them into collision with the royalists, and their total defeat placed the leaders, Clarence and Warwick, in a

March 12.

March 15, 19.

[1] Rot. Parl. vi. 144. "As the said Sir Robert Welles, &c. have "openly confessed and showed before his said highness, the lords of "his blood, and the multitude of his subjects attending upon him in "his host at this time, ... which they affirmed to be true at "their deaths, uncompelled, unstirred, and undesired so to do."—Ibid. p. 233. The confession of Sir Robert is still extant.—Excerp. Hist. 282.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1470.

most perplexing situation. They had purposed to join Sir Robert Welles on the morrow; now, unable to cope with the king, they advanced towards Yorkshire, having previously by proclamation ordered every man able to bear arms to join them, under the penalty of death.[1] The king was at Doncaster when they reached Esterfield, at the distance of twenty miles;

March 20.

and, having arrayed his forces, he sent Garter-king-at-arms to summon them to appear before him, and clear themselves of the offences laid to their charge. They immediately turned to the west, and marched to Manchester, to solicit the aid of the lord Stanley, who had married the sister of Warwick. Want of provisions prevented the pursuit by the royal army, and

March 23.

Edward, hastening to York, published a proclamation, in which he enumerated their offences, but exhorted them to return to their duty within a certain term, assuring them, that if they could vindicate their innocence, he would accept their justification with pleasure; and that if they could not, he would still remember that they were allied to him by blood, and had been once numbered amongst his dearest friends.[2] But at the same time he took from Clarence the lieutenancy of Ireland, and gave it to the earl of Worcester; restored to Henry Percy the earldom of Northumberland and the wardenship of

March 25.

the east marches, giving in compensation to Warwick's brother, who had held them ever since the battle of Towton, the barren title of Marquess Montague; and having learned that the fugitives, unable to corrupt the fidelity of the lord Stanley, had marched to the south,

March 26.

issued commissions to array the population of all the

[1] Rot. Parl. vi. 233. [2] Ibid. and Fenn, ii. 36.

counties through which it was probable they would pass. From York he hastened to Nottingham; where, as the time alloted to them had expired, he declared them traitors, and having offered rewards for their apprehension, continued his march with the greatest expedition.[1] But they fled more rapidly than he could pursue; and had sailed from Dartmouth by the time that he had reached Exeter. At Southampton they made a bold attempt to cut out of the roads a large vessel, the Trinity, belonging to the earl of Warwick; but were repulsed with considerable loss by the exertions of the lord Scales. Edward arrived in a short time; and by his orders the prisoners made in the late action, about twenty in number, were delivered to Tiptoff, earl of Worcester, and earl constable, by whom they were condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quartered. But he was not satisfied with the death of his victims. The indignities inflicted on their remains for the space of three weeks excited the execration of the people, and earned for Tiptoff himself the nickname of the Butcher.[2]

March 31.

April 15.

Warwick had intrusted the government of Calais to a gentleman of Gascony, named Vauclerc, a knight of the garter. To his dismay and astonishment the batteries of the place opened upon him, as he attempted to enter. It was in vain that he sent an officer to remonstrate. Vauclerc, acquainted with the recent transactions in England, had resolved to play a deep, but, he trusted, a secure game. To War-

[1] Ibid. Rym. 654—657. The reward was 100*l.* per annum in land or 1,000*l.* in money. Hence we may infer that land in this reign sold at ten years' purchase.

[2] Warkworth, p. 9. Stowe, p. 422. Ille trux carnifex, et hominum decollator horridus.—Notes to Warkworth, p. 63.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1470.

wick he apologized for his conduct, by informing him that the garrison was disaffected, and would, if he landed, infallibly betray him. At the same time he despatched a messenger to Edward with assurances of his loyalty, and his determination to preserve so important a fortress for his sovereign. What impression his reasons made on the mind of Warwick we know not; but Edward rewarded Vauclerc with the government of Calais, and the duke of Burgundy granted him a pension of a thousand crowns. The fugitives, after some deliberation, steered their course towards Normandy, captured every Flemish merchantman which fell in their way, and were received at Harfleur with distinguished honours by the admiral of France.[1]

Louis XI. had hitherto espoused but faintly the cause of the House of Lancaster; but he now saw the advantages to be derived from the arrival of Warwick and his friends, and ordered them and their ladies to be provided with the best accommodations in the neighbouring towns. Clarence and the earl were invited to his court at Amboise and Angers, where

July 15. they met Henry's queen, Margaret of Anjou. No two persons had ever inflicted more serious injuries on each other than the earl and that princess; but misfortune blunted the edge of their mutual hatred, and interest induced them to forget their past enmity. After a decent struggle, Margaret suffered her antipathy to be subdued by Warwick's oaths and the authority of Louis. The earl acknowledged Henry for his rightful sovereign, and bound himself to aid her, to the best of his power, in her efforts to restore her husband to the throne. She promised on the gospels never to reproach him with the past, but to

[1] Commines, iii. 4. Monstrel. addit. 34.

repute him a true and faithful subject for the future. To cement their friendship, it was agreed that the prince, her son, should marry his daughter Anne; and to lull the probable discontent of Clarence, that in failure of issue by such marriage, the right to the crown should, on the death of the prince, devolve on the duke; and lastly, Louis in consequence of this reconciliation engaged to furnish the aid which Warwick required for his projected expedition to England.[1]

CHAP. II. A.D. 1470.

The only persons dissatisfied with this arrangement were Clarence and his consort. He had hitherto been induced to follow the councils of Warwick by the prospect of succeeding to his brother on the throne; he now saw another claimant interposed between himself and the object of his ambition, and his chance of success made to depend on a distant and very uncertain contingency. His discontent was artfully fomented by the intrigues of a female agent. A lady in the suite of the duchess of Clarence had in the hurry of the flight been left in England, but was permitted to follow, in appearance through the attention of the king to his sister-in-law, in reality, that she might carry private instructions to the duke. She represented to that prince how unnatural it was for him to fight against his brother, and to support the cause of a family, the prosperity of which must

[1] Com. ibid. Hall, 206, 207. Frag. 304. Lel. Coll. ii. 503. Ellis, i. 132. Warkworth, 11. That this marriage actually took place, is clear both from the testimony of our own historians, and from the order given by Louis that the city of Paris should receive in public procession the queen of England avec son fils le prince de Galles et *sa femme* fille dudit comte de Warvick, avec la femme dudit de Warvick mere de *la femme* dudit prince de Galles.—Monst. Nouvelles Chroniques, 35.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1470.

depend on the destruction of his own. These suggestions were not lost on a mind already predisposed to receive them; and the duke, it is said, found the means to assure Edward, that when the occasion should offer, he would prove himself a loyal subject and affectionate kinsman.[1]

The conduct of that prince during this interval is almost inexplicable. If we except the execution of some, and the banishment of others, among the adherents of Warwick, he took no precautions to avert, made no preparations to meet, the approaching storm. His time was spent in gallantries and amusements; the two brothers of Warwick were received into favour; and one of them, the marquess Montague, was honoured with the royal confidence.[2] In such circumstances, no man but the infatuated monarch himself entertained a doubt of the result, if Warwick should effect a landing. That nobleman had always been the favourite, his exile had made him the idol, of the people; no ballad was popular in the towns and villages which did not resound his praise; and every pageant and public exhibition made allusions to his virtues and his misfortunes. But if Edward was indolent, his brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy, was active. He sent emissaries to Calais to watch the conduct of Vauclerc; complained to the parliament of Paris of the reception which had been given to his enemy; sought by menaces and preparations of war to intimidate Louis; seized all the French merchandise in his territories as an indem-

[1] Commines, iii. 5.

[2] Though the archbishop was allowed to remain at the Moor in Hertfordshire, "ther was beleffte with him dyverse of the kynge's "servantes," evidently to watch his motions.—Fenn, ii. 48.

nity for the captures made by Warwick; and despatched a powerful squadron to blockade the mouth of the river Seine. But the Burgundian ships were dispersed by a storm; and the next morning the exiles, under the protection of a French fleet, left their anchorage, and steering across the Channel, landed without opposition at Plymouth and Dartmouth.[1] Sept. 13.

The incautious Edward had been drawn as far as York by an artifice of the lord Fitzhugh, brother-in-law to Warwick, who pretended to raise a rebellion in Northumberland, and on the approach of the king, retired within the borders of Scotland.[2] Thus the southern counties were left open to the invaders. The men of Kent had risen in arms; in London Dr. Goddard preached at St. Paul's Cross in favour of the title of Henry VI.; Warwick proclaimed that monarch, ordered all men between sixteen and sixty to join his standard, and marched with an army, which increased every hour, in a direct line towards Nottingham. The thoughtless king had affected to treat the invasion with his usual levity; he was happy that his enemies had at last put themselves in his power, and trusted that the duke of Burgundy would prevent their escape by sea. But the delusion was soon dissipated. Very few of those whom he had summoned resorted to his quarters at Doncaster; and of these few, many took the first opportunity to depart. As he sat at dinner, or lay in bed, word was brought

[1] Commines, ibid. Hall, 207, 208. The duke of Burgundy wrote to Edward with unusual warmth on these subjects. Par St. George, says he in one of his letters, si l'on n'y pourvoid, a l'aide de Dieu j'y pourveoirai sans vos congiés n'y vos raisons.—Apud Duclos, ii. p. 11.

[2] Fab. 500. Fenn, ii. 48.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1470.

that Warwick continued to approach with the utmost expedition; nor had he recovered from his surprise before a second messenger informed him that six thousand men, who had hitherto worn the white rose, had, at the instigation of Montague, thrown away that device, and tossing their bonnets into the air, had cried, "God bless King Harry." A battalion of guards was immediately despatched to secure a neighbouring bridge, and the king after a short consultation with his friends, mounting his horse, rode without stopping to the town of Lynn. He found in the harbour an English ship and two Dutch brigs; and embarking in them with a few noblemen and about eight hundred followers, compelled the sailors to weigh anchor, and steer immediately for the coast of Holland. The fugitives were descried by a fleet of pirates from the Hanse Towns; and, to escape the pursuit of these unknown enemies, the king was compelled to run his vessel on shore. He landed near Alkmaar, was received with every token of respect by Grutuse, the governor of that province, and conducted by him to the Hague to meet the duke of Burgundy. Thus, by his presumption and inactivity, did Edward lose his crown, before he could strike one blow to preserve it.[1]

Sept. 29.

Oct. 3.

Queen Elizabeth with her family had remained in the Tower; but perceiving that the tide of loyalty had turned in favour of Henry, she left that fortress secretly, and fled with her mother and three daughters to the sanctuary of Westminster, where she was

Oct. 1.

[1] Cont. Croyl. 554. Commines, iii. 5. Fragment, 306. Stowe, 422. Hall, 209. Edward after his restoration rewarded Grutuse with the earldom of Winchester, which that nobleman was induced to resign by Henry VII.

shortly afterwards delivered of a son.[1] Within a few days Clarence and Warwick made their triumphal entry into the capital. Henry was immediately conducted from the Tower to the bishop's palace; and thence walked in solemn procession, with the crown on his head, to the cathedral of St. Paul's. His friends attributed his restoration to the undoubted interposition of Heaven;[2] by foreign nations it was viewed with wonder, or treated with ridicule; to himself it is doubtful whether it proved a source of joy or regret. He had been the captive of Edward; he was now the slave of Warwick.[3]

Oct. 6.

Oct. 13.

By a parliament summoned in the name of the restored king, Edward was pronounced an usurper, his adherents were attainted, and all acts passed by his authority were repealed. The next step was to ratify the convention of Amboise. An act of settlement entailed the crown on the issue male of Henry VI., and in default of such issue, on the duke of Clarence and the heirs of his body; and appointed that prince, with his father-in-law, protectors of the realm during the minority of Edward, the present prince of Wales. All the lords who had suffered for their attachment to the cause of Henry recovered their titles and property; Clarence was made heir to his late father Richard duke of York, promoted to the lieutenancy

Nov. 26.

[1] Stowe, 422, 423. Fenn, ii. 52.

[2] Cont. Croyl. 554, who adds, though himself a Yorkist, that the Lancastrians were at that period the more numerous party.—Ibid.

[3] A foreigner writing on the subject to the cardinal of Pavia, says: Ridebunt posteri, credo, aut ut miracula mirabuntur, cum audierint tantum esse hujus comitis ingenium ut indomitam gentem tam facile regat, novos reges fecerit, his denuo pulsis veteres revocarit, et ipse pulsus intra vertentem annum, multis intra et extra regnum adversantibus, in idem regnum redierit, &c.—Hesdini, Oct. xi. 1470. Apud Raynal. eodem anno.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1470.

of Ireland, and in place of some manors, which had belonged to Lancastrians, received other grants of equal, perhaps of superior value; Warwick reassumed his offices of chamberlain of England and captain of Calais, to which was added that of lord high admiral; his brother the archbishop was again intrusted with the seals; and his other brother the marquess recovered the wardenship of the marches.[1] But if the conquerors thus provided for themselves, it must be added in their praise that their triumph was not stained with blood. The only man who suffered was the earl of Worcester; whose cruelty in the office of constable has been already mentioned. "He was juged by such "lawe as he dyde to other menne;" but his remains were "buryede with alle the honoure and worschyppe "that his frendes coude do."[2]

Oct. 18.

To no one did this sudden revolution afford greater satisfaction than to Louis of France. By his orders it was celebrated with public thanksgivings and rejoicings for three days, and Margaret was received at Paris with the same distinction as a queen of France. To compliment Henry, a splendid embassy proceeded to London, and a treaty of peace and commerce for fifteen years cemented the union between the two crowns.[3] The duke of Burgundy, on the contrary, found himself placed in a most distressing dilemma. Edward had fled to him and solicited his aid. Could he refuse the brother of his consort? The dukes of Exeter and Somerset had reached his court, and reminded him that he was descended from the same

1471. Feb. 13.

[1] Cont. Croyl. 554. Rym. xi. 661—679, 693—696, 699—705. When the proceedings of Henry's parliament were afterwards repealed, it is probable that they were also cancelled. They do not now appear on the rolls.—Rot. Parl. vi. 191.

[2] Warkworth, p. 13.

[3] Rym. xi. 683, 690.

ancestor as Henry. Could he contribute to dethrone a prince of his own blood? By aiding Edward, he might provoke Henry to espouse the cause of Louis, who had already wrested from him a rich and populous territory: by refusing to aid him, he should expose himself to equal danger from the friendship between the two crowns. At last he adopted the crooked, but in this instance successful, policy, of rejecting in public, while he favoured in private, the cause of the exile. By proclamation he forbade under severe penalties any of his subjects to lend assistance to Edward; in secret he made him a present of fifty thousand florins, ordered four large ships to be equipped for his use at Vere, in Holland, and hired fourteen vessels from the Hanse Towns to transport him from Flushing to England.[1]

About the middle of Lent the hostile fleet was descried off the coast of Suffolk; but the preparations which had been made, and the activity of a brother to the earl of Oxford, deterred it from approaching the land. Continuing his course to the north, Edward was driven by a storm into the mouth of the Humber, and with ten or fifteen hundred men disembarked at Ravenspur, the very place where Henry IV. landed to dethrone Richard II. The hostility of the inhabitants induced him to imitate the dissimulation and perjury of that monarch. He exhibited a pretended safe-conduct from the earl of Northumbreland; protested that he came not to claim the throne but the inheritance of his late father, the duke of York: wore in his bonnet an ostrich feather, the device

March 12.

March 14.

[1] Commines, iii. 6. He had 900 English and 300 Flemings, "with hange gunns,"—Warkworth, 13; Lel. Coll. ii. 503, "hande "gonnes."

CHAP. II. A.D. 1471.

of Edward, the Lancastrian prince of Wales; and ordered his followers to shout "Long live King Henry," in every village and town through which they passed. At the gates of York, and afterwards on the altar of

March 18.

the cathedral, he was compelled to abjure on oath, in presence of the corporation and clergy, all his pretensions to the crown.[1] Such a reception was not calculated to flatter his hopes; but he had staked his life on the result; he resolved to press forward; and the boldness and decision which marked his conduct, contrasted with the inactivity, timidity, and irresolution of his adversaries, will justify a suspicion that he possessed resources, and was encouraged by promises, of which others were ignorant. At Pontefract lay the marquess Montague with all the forces which

March 20.

he could muster. Edward passed within four miles of the head-quarters of his adversary, and not a sword was drawn to impede or retard his progress.[2] But the rivulet, as it rolled on, was swelled by the accession of numberless streams; at Nottingham the exile saw himself at the head of several thousand men; and in his proclamations he assumed the title of king, and summoned every loyal subject to hasten to the aid of his sovereign. Clarence also threw off the mask. He had raised a numerous body of men under a commission from Henry; he now ordered them to wear the white rose over their gorgets, and joined his brother near Coventry, where the earls of Warwick and Oxford had concentrated their forces. Both the battle and the reconciliation, which Edward offered,

[1] So say the Lancastrian writers: and I am inclined to believe them, though promises and protestations are substituted in the place of oaths in the Historie of the arrival of Edward IV. by one of his suite, p. 5. See note (A) at the end.

[2] Fenn, ii. 62.

were obstinately refused; and the Yorkists directed their march with expedition to the capital, which had been intrusted to the care of the archbishop. That prelate already began to waver. In the morning he conducted Henry, decorated with the insignia of royalty, through the streets of the city; in the afternoon he ordered the recorder Urswick to admit Edward by a postern in the walls. In his excuse it was alleged, that the party of the house of York had gained the ascendancy among the citizens; that the richest of the merchants were the creditors of Edward; that his affability and gallantries had attached numbers to his interests; and that the sanctuaries contained two thousand of his adherents, ready at a signal to unsheath the sword in his favour. However that may be, the archbishop secured a pardon for himself, and ruined the cause of his brothers.[1] Warwick and Montague followed their adversary, expecting to find him encamped before the capital; but he, apprehensive of the Lancastrians within its walls, immediately left it, and taking Henry with him, advanced to meet his pursuers. Clarence, who felt some compunction for the part which he had acted, sent to offer his services as mediator between his father-in-law and his brother. "Go and tell your master," replied the indignant earl, "that Warwick, true to his word, is a better man "than the false and perjured Clarence." He had

April 11.

April 13.

[1] "He was doble (as men suppose) to King Henry, and kept hym "at London, when he woold have beene at Westminster. He had "lettres of King Edward to kepe King Henry out of Sanctuary." —Lel. Coll. ii. 508. He swore allegiance to Edward on the sacrament in the morning before the king left London for Barnet.—Rym. xi. 710. Yet he was committed for a few days to the Tower, either to conceal his treason, or through mistrust.—Fenn, ii. 64. His pardon includes all offences committed before Easter-eve.—Rym. xi. 709.

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appealed to the sword; he would admit of no other arbiter between him and his enemies.[1]

It was late on Easter-eve when the hostile armies met a little to the north of the town of Barnet. Warwick had already chosen his ground; Edward made his preparations during the darkness of the night; in consequence of which, he posted by mistake his right wing in front of the enemy's centre, while his left stretched far away to the west. But at day-break a fog of unusual density concealed from both parties their relative position; and at five o'clock the king gave by trumpet the signal for battle. It lasted four or five hours, but is described to us as a succession of partial actions taking place in different parts of the field, as individual leaders espied through the mist an opportunity of assailing an opponent. Friends were repeatedly taken for foes; and such rencontres excited on both sides suspicion of treason. The left wing of the Lancastrians, having no opponent in front, drew towards their centre; and accumulating in number trampled down the extreme right of the Yorkists, and pursued the fugitives through Barnet on the road to the capital. From the same cause the Yorkists on the left gradually approached and reinforced their centre, where Edward was contending with success against the utmost efforts of Warwick. On the earl's part, his brother Montague had already fallen; the duke of Exeter, though wounded only, had been left among the dead; and the earl of Oxford, whose badge of a star with rays, so like to Edward's badge, a sun with rays, had exposed him to the attack of his own friends, had withdrawn in distrust with his corps of

April 14.

[1] Contin. Croyl. 554. Speed, 881. Commines, iii. 7.

seven hundred men, from the field. On the other, the king had lost the lords Say and Cromwell, and the son of the lord Berners, with many of his bravest knights. At last the welcome intelligence was brought to him that the body of Warwick had been found, lying near a thicket, breathless and despoiled of armour. This terminated the battle of Barnet, in which, according to some writers, the slain amounted to many thousands, though by one who was wounded in it, the number is reduced to ten or eleven hundred.[1] To Edward the death of Warwick was of greater importance than any victory. That nobleman by a long course of success had acquired the surname of the king maker; and the superstition of the vulgar believed that the cause which he supported must finally triumph. His body, with that of his brother Montague, was exposed naked for three days on the pavement of St. Paul's, and then deposited among the ashes of his fathers in the abbey of Bilsam. Edward entered the city in triumph, remanded the unfortunate Henry to his cell in the Tower, and resumed the exercise of the sovereign authority. But he was not long permitted to indulge in repose or festivity. He had fought at Barnet on the Sunday; on the Friday he was again summoned into the field. Queen Margaret, who had been detained for weeks on the French coast by the state of the weather, had at last embarked at Harfleur; but her hopes were again disappointed by the violence of the wind, and three weeks elapsed before she landed with a body of French auxiliaries at Weymouth. It was the very day of the battle of Barnet. She was hardly recovered from the

April 15.

April 19

[1] Fenn, ii. 64. For the battle compare The Historie, p. 18—20, with Warkworth, p. 16, 17.

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fatigue of the voyage, when a messenger arrived with the fatal intelligence. All her hopes were instantly broken: she sank to the ground in despair; and as soon as she came to herself, hastened with her son for safety to the abbey of Cerne.[1] But the Lancastrian lords who still remained faithful to the cause induced her to quit her asylum, conducted her to Bath, and raised a considerable body of troops to fight under her banner. If this army could have joined that under the earl of Pembroke in Wales, the crown might perhaps have been again replaced on the head of Henry. But the citizens of Gloucester had fortified the bridge over the Severn; and when she reached Tewksbury, Edward was already at hand with a more numerous force. The Lancastrians had intrenched themselves at Tewksbury in a strong position at the end of the town, covered on the back by the extensive walls of the abbey, and having in front and on the sides a country so deeply intersected with dikes, and hedges and lanes, that "it was a ryght evill place to "approach, as could well have been devysed." On the morrow, Edward commenced the attack with a heavy cannonade, which was returned with spirit. But it soon became evident that the king had the advantage in the number and weight of his guns, and the multitude of his archers, who poured showers of arrows within the intrenchments. Still the Lancastrians did not flinch; and, after some time, the duke of Somerset, with a chosen band, stole by a circuitous route to the top of an eminence, near the foot of which was stationed a corps commanded by the king in person. Suddenly they charged it in flank; but

April 16.

April 30.

May 4.

[1] Historie, 32. It was the countess of Warwick who landed at Southampton and fled to the sanctuary of Beaulieu.—Ibid.

fortunately for Edward, two hundred spearmen, who had been detached to a neighbouring wood, observing the movement, fell unexpectedly on the rear of the assailants, who were thrown into confusion, and fled for their lives. It may be that this failure disheartened the Lancastrians. The defence grew fainter every minute. Soon the banner of the duke of Gloucester, next that of Edward himself, waved within the intrenchment; and Somerset, as we are told, suspecting the lord Wenlock of treachery, rode up to that nobleman, and at one stroke beat out his brains. The victory was now won. Of the prisoners the most important was the Lancastrian prince of Wales, who was taken to Edward in the field. To the question, what had brought him to England, he boldly and ingenuously replied, "To preserve my "father's crown and my own inheritance." The king, it is said, had the barbarity to strike the young prince in the face with his gauntlet; Clarence and Gloucester, perhaps the knights in their retinue, despatched him with their swords.[1] Queen Margaret, with her daughter-in-law, and the ladies her attendants, had withdrawn before the battle, to a small religious house in the neighbourhood. They were afterwards discovered, and presented as prisoners to the king.

It is probable that many of the Lancastrian leaders

[1] Cont. Croyl. 556. Hollinshed, 1340. Stowe, 424. Fabyan, 505. There may be exaggerations in the common account of the prince's death; but I see no good reason to dispute Stowe's narrative: "he smote him on the face with his gauntlet, and after his "servants slew him."—Stowe, ibid. It is not contradicted by the writers who say that the prince fell "in the war or in the field," it is countenanced by those who say that he was taken, and afterwards slain: "Such as abode handstroks were slayne incontinent. Ed- "warde called prince was taken fleeinge to the townward, and slayne "in the fielde."—Harl. MSS. 543. Historie, p. 30.

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might have escaped by flight, if they had not sought an asylum within the church. While *they* were triumphant, they had always respected the rights of sanctuary; and a hope was cherished that gratitude for the preservation of his wife, his children, and two thousand of his partisans, would restrain Edward from violating a privilege to which he was so much indebted. But the murder of the young prince had whetted his appetite for blood. With his sword drawn he attempted to enter the church; but a priest, in his sacerdotal garments, with the consecrated host in his hand, met him at the door, and adjured him, in the name of his Redeemer, to spare the lives of the fugitives. The promise was solemnly given; the king proceeded to the high altar, and a prayer of thanksgiving was offered up for the victory. This happened on the Saturday; on Monday the duke of Somerset, the lord prior of St. John's, six knights, and seven esquires, were dragged before the dukes of Gloucester and Norfolk, condemned, and beheaded. But were they not under the protection of the royal promise? So it is asserted by the Lancastrian writers. Edward's apologists pretend that, though the abbey *church* had not the privilege of sanctuary for men guilty of treason, the promise was faithfully observed, as far as regarded those who sought an asylum within its walls. The prisoners executed were those only who had concealed themselves in the abbey itself, or in the town.[1]

There now remained but one person whose life could give uneasiness to Edward. As long as the son lived to claim the crown of his father, the blood of Henry was not worth the shedding; but now that the young

[1] Compare The Historie, p. 30, 31, with Warkworth, p. 18.

prince was no more, to remove the old king, was to remove the last temptation from his adherents, whose attachment to their ancient sovereign appeared to grow with the decline of his fortunes. Only a week had elapsed after the battle of Tewksbury when the bastard of Falconberg, who had been vice-admiral to Warwick, and commanded a fleet of adventurers, made a bold attempt to liberate the royal prisoner from the Tower, landing at Blackwall, and calling to his aid the commons of Essex and Kent, he advanced to attack the city, burnt Bishopsgate, and even won possession of Aldgate; but after a long and bloody contest was driven back to Stratford. Still he persevered; his followers were summoned to meet him again on Blackheath, and a second assault had been arranged, when the approach of Edward with his victorious army warned him to withdraw to his ships.[1] It is probable that this bold but unsuccessful attempt sealed the doom of the unfortunate captive. On the afternoon of Tuesday the conqueror made his triumphal entry into the capital; on that of Wednesday the dead body of Henry was exposed in St. Paul's. To satisfy the credulous, it was reported, as had been formerly reported of Richard II., that he died of grief. But though Edward might silence the tongues, he could not control the thoughts or the pens of his subjects;[2] and the writers who lived under the next

May 12.

May 17.

May 21, 22.

[1] The bastard of Falconberg was Thomas, natural son of William Neville, Baron Falconberg, and afterwards earl of Kent. On the death of Henry, he submitted, and obtained a pardon for himself and his followers by the delivery to the king of his fleet of 47 sail (Historie, p. 39). But, though he had a charter of pardon, he could not escape the vengeance of the duke of Gloucester, by whose orders he was beheaded in Yorkshire (Warkworth, 20). His head was fixed on London Bridge "looking Kentwards," on Sept. 28.—Fenn, ii. 82.

[2] There are two contemporary writers by whom the death of

CHAP. II. A.D. 1471.

dynasty not only proclaimed the murder, but attribute the black deed to the advice, if not to the dagger, of the youngest of the royal brothers, Richard duke of Gloucester.[1] From St. Paul's the body of Henry was conveyed by water for interment at Chertsea, under a guard of soldiers, belonging to the garrison of Calais.[2] By the friends of the house of Lancaster the deceased

Henry is mentioned, the Croyland historian, and the narrator of the manner in which Edward recovered the crown (Harl. MSS. 543), both in the service of Edward, the one being a doctor of canon law, and member of his council, the other a person who saw much of what he states, "and the residue knew by true relation of them that were "present." Now the first employs language which not only shows his conviction that Henry was murdered, but seems to hint that it was ordered, if not perpetrated, by one of the brothers. "Parcat "Deus, et spatium pœnitentiæ ei donet, quicumque tam sacrilegas "manus in christum Domini ausus est immitere: unde et agens "*tyranni*, patiensque gloriosi martyris titulum mereatur."—Con. Croyl. 556. The other states merely, as was stated by Edward's friends, that Henry died of "pure displeasure and melancholy." It detracts, however, from his credit, that he appears in other instances to have suppressed or disguised facts which bore hard on the character of his patron, particularly Edward's perjury at York, and the murder of the prince after the battle of Tewksbury.

[1] Mr. Laing, in his dissertation at the end of Henry's history (xii. 393), undertakes to acquit Richard of the murder of Henry on the ground that he did not die at the time assigned, but much later. The proof is, that, as Malone observes (Shakspeare, xi. 653), "it "appears on the face of the public accounts allowed in the Exchequer "for the maintenance of Henry VI. and his numerous attendants in "the Tower, that he lived till the twelfth of June, twenty-two days "after the time assigned for his pretended assassination." These accounts are to be found in Rym. xi 712. But they afford no proof that Henry lived till the 12th of June. The latest date of any particular charge is that of William Sayer for the maintenance of Henry and ten guards for a fortnight, beginning the 11th of May, and of course ending on the day on which the king is said to have been buried. The mistake arises from this, that Malone has taken the day of the month on which the accounts were allowed at the Exchequer, for the day on which the expenses ceased; which is so far from being the case that it even belongs to a different year, 1472, and not 1471; as appears from the two next accounts, which, though allowed on the 24th of June, refer to expenses in September and October of 1471.—See them in Rym. xi. 713, 714.

[2] See the Pell Rolls, 495, 496.

monarch was revered as a martyr. It was soon whispered that miracles had been wrought at his tomb, and Richard III., apprehensive of the impression which such reports might make on the public mind, removed his bones from Chertsey to Windsor. Henry VII. placed, or intended to place, them among the tombs of his ancestors in Westminster Abbey.[1] CHAP. II. A.D. 1471.

Before I proceed with the reign of Edward, it may not be amiss to notice the history of the surviving adherents of Henry.—1. Margaret was confined first in the Tower, afterwards at Windsor, and lastly at Wallingford, with a weekly allowance of five marks for the support of herself and her servants. After a captivity of five years she was ransomed by Louis of France, and closed her eventful life in 1482 in her own country. 2. Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, and great-grandson of John of Ghent by his second daughter Elizabeth, had been severely wounded in the battle at Barnet, but was conveyed by one of his servants from the field to the sanctuary at Westminster. It was expected that he would obtain his pardon through the influence of his wife Anne, the eldest sister of Edward. But that lady solicited and obtained a divorce in 1472, and married Sir Thomas St. Leger. The duke was at the time in the custody of the king, with the weekly allowance of half a mark; the next year his dead body was found floating in the sea between Dover and Calais.[2] 3. Vere, earl of Oxford,[3] had Nov. 12.

[1] Rous. 217. Rym. xiii. 103. Pope Julius in his brief says of Henry's death, ante diem facto, ut creditur, æmulorum, debitum naturæ persolvit—and of the translation of his body, that it was made by the same æmuli, qua mente ducti, ignoratur.—Ibid. But Henry VII. gives the reason mentioned above.—Wilk. Con. iii. 653.

[2] Stowe, 426. Fabyan, 663.

[3] His father and elder brother had been executed 26th February,

CHAP. II. A.D. 1473. escaped into Scotland, and thence into France; but disdaining a life of indolence, he collected a small squadron of twelve sail, swept the narrow seas, kept the maritime counties in perpetual alarm, and by frequent captures enriched himself and his followers. With about four hundred men he surprised the strong fortress of Mount St. Michael in Cornwall, whence he made repeated inroads into the neighbouring counties, receiving supplies from the friends of the house of Lancaster, and wreaking his vengeance on those of the house of York. By Edward's command, Sir Henry Bodrugan besieged the mount; but his fidelity was suspected; and he was superseded by Richard Fortescue, sheriff of Cornwall. The new commander had been a Lancastrian and a friend; he had recourse to promises and persuasions; and the earl, apprehensive of the treachery of his own men, surrendered the place on condition that his life and the lives of his followers should be spared, with the exception of the lord Beaumont and Sir Richard Laumarth. During eleven years he was confined a close prisoner in the castle of Hamme, in Picardy; while his countess, the sister to the great Warwick, was compelled to support herself by the profits of her needle and the secret presents of her friends.[1] 4. Though the archbishop of York had rendered the king many services, Edward did not feel easy on his throne as long as a Neville remained at liberty. They had hunted together at Windsor; and the king in return promised to hunt

May. Sept. 30. 1474. Feb. 15.

1462, for corresponding with Queen Margaret after the battle of Towton.—Frag. ad finem Sprot. Wyrcest. 492.

[1] Stowe, 426. Lel. Coll. ii. 508, 509. Fenn, ii. 133, 139, 142, 156. Rot. Parl. vi. 149. He escaped from Hamme with the connivance of the governor, who had been bribed by the earl of Richmond; and we shall meet with him again fighting victoriously for the house of Lancaster.

with the prelate at the Moor in Hertfordshire. The most magnificent preparations were made for his reception; all the plate, which the archbishop had secreted since the death of his brothers, had been collected; and the principal nobility of the neighbourhood were invited to partake of the entertainment. But Edward sent for him to Windsor, and arrested him on a charge of having lent money to the earl of Oxford. The revenue of his bishopric was seized; his plate confiscated; his mitre converted into a crown; and his jewels divided between the king and the prince of Wales. The prelate lingered in prison for three years, partly in England and partly at Guisnes, and did not recover his liberty till a few weeks before his death in the year 1476. 5. The earl of Pembroke, the uterine brother of Henry, with his nephew the young earl of Richmond, escaped from his town of Pembroke, in which he was besieged, took shipping at Tenby, and was driven by a storm on the coast of Bretagne. The king, as if he had foreseen the severe revenge which that young prince was destined to inflict on the house of York, employed both solicitations and promises to have the uncle and nephew delivered into his hands. But the duke Francis, though he stood in need of the assistance of Edward, refused to betray the exiles. On one occasion, indeed, his resolution was shaken by the offer of the English king to give him his daughter with a princely portion in marriage, and his promise at the same time to do no injury to the captives. In consequence, Francis delivered one, the young earl of Richmond, to Edward's messengers; but his conscience immediately smote him, and distrusting the intention of the king, he took the earl from them

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before their embarkation at St. Malo. From that time the two fugitives remained with him in a sort of honourable confinement during the reign of Edward; the reader will see them again in England under that of his successor.[1] 6. Of the other partisans of the house of Lancaster, the principal, as soon as their hopes were extinguished by the death of Henry and his son, condescended to implore the clemency of Edward; and that prince, having no longer a competitor to fear, listened with greater attention to their petitions. Hence in the next parliament, several attainders were reversed in favour of persons whose services might prove useful, or whose influence was too inconsiderable to make them subjects of jealousy. Of these I may mention two, Dr. Morton, parson of Blokesworth, and Sir John Fortescue, lord chief justice, who had both been present in the field of Towton, and both been attainted by act of parliament. In their petitions to Edward, they use nearly the same expressions. "They are as sorrowful and repentant as any "creatures may be, for whatever they have done to "the displeasure of the king's highness; and protest "that they are and ever will be true liegemen and "obeissant subjects to him their sovereign lord." Acquainted with the talents of Morton, Edward had already granted to him a pardon, and made him keeper of the rolls. Soon afterwards he preferred him to the bishopric of Ely. His attachment to the sons of his benefactor earned for him the enmity of Richard III.; and to his counsels were afterwards ascribed the deposition of that usurper, and the termination of civil discord, by the union of the two roses in the marriage of Henry VII. with the princess

[1] Com. v. 18. Stowe, 426, 429.

Elizabeth. Sir John Fortescue had accompanied Margaret and her son during their exile, had received from her the office of chancellor, and was intrusted by her with the education of the young prince. While he was with Henry in Scotland he had written a treatise in proof of the claim of the house of Lancaster, against that of the house of York. But he could support with equal ability either side of the question, and after the death of Henry wrote a second treatise in proof of the claim of the house of York, against the claim of that of Lancaster. The latter seems to have been required as a price of his pardon. In his petition he assures the king, "that he hath so "clearly disproved all the arguments that have been "made against his right and title, that now there "remaineth no colour or matter of argument to the "hurt or infamy of the same right or title by reason "of any such writing; but the same right and title "stand now the more clear and open by that any "such writings have been made against them."[1]

[1] See Rot. Parl. vi. 26, 69. He maintained in his first work that Philippa, daughter of Lionel duke of Clarence, through whom the house of York claimed, had never been acknowledged by her father; in the second, that she was his legitimate child and heir. See extracts from treatises in "The Hereditary Right Asserted," p. 234, 235; and App. i. ii. taken from the Cotton MS. Otho, B. i.—But the most important of the works of this learned judge is his tract De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, which he wrote in exile for the instruction of the young prince, who was murdered after the battle of Tewksbury. He informs his royal pupil that the English is not an absolute but a limited monarchy. In the former, which is the offspring of force and conquest, the will of the prince is the law; in the latter, which arises from the free election of men for their own safety and convenience, the king can neither make laws nor take the goods of his subjects without their consent (c. 9, 12, 13, 14). Of the superior advantages of the latter the prince could have no doubt, if he would contrast the situation of the lower classes in his own country with that of similar classes in France. He would find that the English were better clothed, better fed, and enjoyed in greater

CHAP. II. A.D. 1473.

Thus, after many a bloody field, and the most surprising vicissitudes of fortune, was the head of the house of York seated on the throne of England, apparently without a competitor. His eldest son, who had been born in the sanctuary during his exile, and

1471. June 26.

had also been named Edward, was now created prince of Wales and earl of Chester, and was recognized as

July 3.

the heir-apparent in a great council of peers and prelates.[1] The partisans of the house of Lancaster had no leader in England; the marauding expeditions of the earl of Oxford, had become subjects of ridicule rather than terror; and the king was relieved from all apprehensions on the part of Scotland by the promising state of his negotiations with that kingdom.[2] His chief disquietude arose from the insatiate rapacity of his brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. The immense property of the late earl of Warwick had been derived from two sources, the inheritance of his father the earl of Salisbury, and the possessions of his wife Anne, the heiress to the noble and opulent family of Beauchamp. Clarence, who had married Warwick's

abundance the comforts of life (c. 35, 36). He then proceeds to give the preference to the English before the Roman law: 1. Because the trial by jury is superior to that by witnesses; and to a question from the young Edward, why then other nations do not adopt it, he replies, that they cannot, because in no other country are there to be found such numbers of substantial yeomen, qualified to serve as jurors; for perjury in a juror was punished with the forfeiture of all property real and personal; and if one might be willing to risk this, the others would not (567); 2. Because it bastardizes the issue born before wedlock, whereas the civil law legitimates it; 3. Because it makes the child of the same condition as the father, not as the mother; 4. Because it refuses the guardianship of orphans to those who by law would succeed to their estates, &c. This treatise is deserving of attention, because it shows what notions prevailed at the period respecting the nature of the English constitution, and the liberties of the subject.

[1] Rym. xi. 713.

[2] Ibid. 718, 733, 748.

eldest daughter, grasped at the whole succession; Gloucester proposed by marrying the younger, the relict of the prince of Wales slain at Tewksbury, to claim for himself a proportionate share. To defeat the project of his brother, the former concealed the widow from the pursuit of Gloucester; but after some months she was discovered in London in the disguise of a cook-maid, and for greater security was conducted to the sanctuary of St. Martin's. Clarence could not prevent the marriage; but he swore that Gloucester "should not part the livelihood with him." The king endeavoured to reconcile the two brothers. They pleaded their cause repeatedly before him in council; arbitrators were appointed; and at length an award was given, which, after assigning her portion to Anne, left the rest of the property to Isabella, the eldest sister.[1] All this while the countess their mother was living, and to her belonged by law the possessions of her late brother and father, with the dower settled on her by her husband.[2] But her interests were disregarded. By act of parliament it was determined that the daughters should succeed as if their mother were dead; that, if either of them should die before her husband, *he* should continue to enjoy her portion for the term of his natural life;

CHAP. II. A.D. 1471

1473. Jan. 20.

1474. May.

[1] Fenn, ii. 90. During this quarrel Sir John Paston writes thus:—"The world seems queasy here. For the most part that be about "the king, have sent hither for their harness (armour). It is said "for certain, that the duke of Clarence maketh himself big in that "he can; showing as (if) he would but deal with the duke of Glou- "cester; but the king intended to be as big as they both. Some "men think that under this there should be some other thing in- "tended, and some treason conspired; so what shall fall, can I not "say."—Ibid. 127. April 13, 1473.

[2] She had been in the sanctuary of Beaulieu, till she was removed to the north in June, 1473, by Sir John Tyrrell. Edward had assented to it, but Clarence was displeased.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1474. —

and that, if a divorce should be pronounced between Richard and Anne, Richard should still have the benefit of this act, provided he should marry, or do his endeavours to marry, her again.[1] Still the two brothers were not secure. To preclude any claim from the son of the marquess Montague, Warwick's brother, it was enacted that Clarence and Gloucester, and their heirs, should enjoy certain lands, the former property of the earl, as long as there should exist any male issue of the body of the marquess. By these acts of parliament, and the grant of different honours and emoluments, the demands of the royal brothers were satisfied; but a secret hatred had been kindled in their breasts, which was ready to burst forth on the first and most trivial provocation.[2]

July.

Being at length relieved from all cause of disquietude at home, Edward turned his attention to the concerns of foreign powers. Louis, king of France, and Charles le Téméraire, duke of Burgundy, had long been implacable enemies. The latter, with his ally the duke of Bretagne, solicited Edward to prosecute the ancient claim of the English monarchs to the French crown. Gratitude for the services which he had received from his brother-in-law, the desire of punishing Louis for the succours which he had furnished to the house of Lancaster, and above all, the benefit of employing in a foreign war those who, from their former attachments, might be inclined to cabal against his government, induced him to lend a willing ear to the project. Alliances, offensive and defensive, were concluded between him and the two dukes; the

1474. July 25.

[1] Rot. Parl. vi. 100, 101. Thus says the Continuator Hist. Croyl., Parum aut nihil veræ dominæ relictum est (p. 556, 557).

[2] Rot Parl. vi. 124

partition of their expected conquests was arranged; and the respective quotas, with the payment of their troops, were satisfactorily settled. France, according to these treaties, would have been divided into two independent states; of which one, comprehending the northern and eastern provinces, would have belonged to the duke of Burgundy without any obligation of fealty or homage; the other would have been possessed by Edward as undoubted heir to the ancient monarchs.[1] The king found the nation willing to embark in the romantic undertaking; the clergy, the lords, and the commons, separately granted him a tenth of their income; and the parliament, which, with different prorogations, continued to sit during two years and a half, voted supply upon supply with unprecedented rapidity.[2] But an additional aid was obtained by the king's own ingenuity. He assumed the tone of a sturdy beggar, called the more wealthy of the citizens before him, and requested from each a present for the relief of his wants. No one presumed to reject the prayer of his sovereign; and considerable sums were thus procured from the shame, the hopes, or the fears, of the donors. Preceding monarchs had repeatedly borrowed on their own security, or that of the parliament; Edward was the first who demanded presents, and facetiously termed the money which he had extorted *a benevolence*.[3] We may believe that the sums collected from these different sources exceeded the treasures amassed by any of his predecessors; but it is plain that the historian

From 1472, Oct. 6, to 1475, March 24.

[1] Rym. xi. 804—814, and transcript for New Rym. 75, 76.

[2] Rot. Parl. vi. 3—153.

[3] Inaudita impositio muneris, ut per benevolentiam quisque daret quod vellet, imo verius quod nollet.—Cont. Croyl. 558.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1475.

was not possessed of the gift of prophecy, when he asserted that they would never be equalled on any subsequent occasion.[1]

Though Europe had long resounded with the report of these preparations, from some accident or other the threatened expedition was annually postponed. Edward, however, improved the delay to secure the friendship of the king of Scots. His commissioners offered ample indemnity for all injuries sustained by the Scottish merchants; the long truce was reciprocally confirmed; a marriage was contracted between the duke of Rothsay, the eldest son of James, and Cecily, the second daughter of Edward, and the portion of the princess was fixed at twenty thousand marks, to be paid by equal instalments in ten years; a mode of payment which, by making the king of Scots the pensioner, attached him to the interests of the king of England.[2] At length Edward proceeded to Sandwich; his army, consisting of fifteen hundred men-at-arms, and ten times that number of archers, was transported to Calais; and Charles duke of Burgundy was invited, according to the treaty, to join the king with his troops. But that prince, who had already wasted his resources in a romantic and unsuccessful expedition into Germany, arrived in the English camp with a slender retinue, and offered the best apology in his power for his inability to fulfil his engagements. Edward accompanied him to Peronne, where his chagrin was augmented by the jealousy with which Charles excluded the English from the

1474. Oct. 26.

1475. June 20.

July 4.

[1] Ad eas summas, quarum summæ neque antea visæ, neque in futurum de verosimili simul vidandæ sunt.—Ibid. He got from the lord mayor 30*l.*, from each alderman 20 marks, or at least 10*l.*, and from the wealthiest commoners 4*l.* 11s. 3d., or "the wages of "half a man for the year."—Fab. 664. [2] Rym. xi. 821—832.

town. Thence a detachment was sent to occupy St. Quintin's, but the constable of St. Pol, who had been represented as an ally, fired on it from the walls. The king could no longer check the expression of his disappointment; and the duke departed with a promise to return in a short time at the head of a numerous army.

From Sandwich, in conformity with the laws of chivalry, Garter king-at-arms had been despatched to Louis, to make a formal demand on the French crown. The monarch heard him with composure, took him into his closet, expressed much esteem for the character of Edward, and a sincere desire to live in amity with so illustrious a prince. He then put three hundred crowns into the hands of the herald, and promised him a thousand more on the conclusion of peace. Won by his liberality and apparent confidence, Garter advised him to apply to the lord Howard or the lord Stanley, as ministers averse from war, and high in the favour of their sovereign. Louis immediately dismissed him, and prepared to avail himself of the information.[1]

While Edward lay in his camp near Peronne, ruminating on the unaccountable conduct of the Burgundian, a French herald addressed himself to the lords Howard and Stanley, and solicited an introduction to the king. Being admitted, he assured Edward that Louis had never entertained the slightest hostility against him personally; and that if he had lent assistance on one occasion to the earl of Warwick, it had been solely through his hatred to the duke of Burgundy; he insinuated that the friendship pretended by Charles was hollow and insincere; that he

[1] Com. iv. c. 5—7.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1475.

had allured the English into France for his own individual advantage, and that he would desert them as soon as he could obtain better terms for himself; and then added that, with a little forbearance on each side, it would be easy for two princes, who mutually esteemed each other, to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, and agree to an accommodation equally beneficial to their subjects. By Edward, discontented as he was, the suggestion was received with pleasure.

August 13 He convoked a council of officers, and a resolution was taken that the king should return with his army to England, if Louis would consent to pay to him in the course of the year seventy-five thousand crowns; to settle on him an annuity for life of fifty thousand more; to conclude a truce and commercial intercourse between the two nations for seven years; and to marry his eldest son to Edward's eldest daughter; or in the event of her death, to her sister Mary, who at the age of puberty should be conveyed to France at the expense of Louis, and receive from him an annual income of sixty thousand francs. The motives assigned by the members for this resolution are, the approach of winter, the poverty of the treasury, and the insincerity of duke Charles;[1] but to these must be added the presents which Louis distributed among the royal favourites, and the prospect of a supply of money, an object of high importance to a voluptuous and indigent prince. Commissioners on both sides were appointed to meet at a neighbouring village. Louis assented to every demand; and in addition, it was agreed that

August 29. Margaret of Anjou should be set at liberty on the payment of fifty thousand crowns; and that all differences between the two kings should be submitted

[1] Rym. xii. 14, 15

to four arbitrators, the cardinal of Canterbury and the duke of Clarence on the part of Edward, the archbishop of Lyons and the count of Dunois on the part of Louis, who should be bound to pronounce their award within the course of three years.[1] As soon as these conditions had been mutually exchanged, a bridge was thrown across the Somme at Picquigny near Amiens, on which were erected two lodges, separated from each other by a grating of wood. Here the monarchs met each other, shook hands through the grating, and swore on the Missal to observe their engagements. They then entered into familiar conversation; and Louis incautiously invited his new acquaintance to Paris. Edward, eager in the pursuit of pleasure, did not refuse; and it required all the address of the French monarch to postpone the intended visit to an indeterminate period. The English kings, he afterwards observed to his confidants, had been too much in the habit of visiting France; he liked them best on their own side of the water.[2]

CHAP. II. A.D. 1475.

All the immediate conditions of the treaty were faithfully performed. Edward received the money on the appointed day, and instantly commenced his march to the coast; the truce was published, and prolonged for one year after the death of either king; the annual pension, and the sum stipulated for the ransom of Queen Margaret, were carefully paid; Edward resigned all power over that princess as his captive, and Louis bound himself never to make any demand in her favour; and she herself, after she was delivered to the French commissioners at Rouen, signed a formal renunciation of all her rights as queen

Nov. 13.

1476. Jan. 29.

[1] Rym. xii. 15—21; xii. 52.
[2] Com. iv. 5—10. Addit. to Monstrel. 51.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1476.

dowager of England.[1] Each king congratulated himself on the issue of the expedition. Edward had not only filled his coffers, but had insured for himself an annual supply of money; Louis, at an expense comparatively small, had escaped from a dangerous war, and had converted a powerful enemy into a faithful ally. To secure this advantage he had purchased the services of many in the English council, who did not hesitate to copy the example of their sovereign. The lord Hastings, Edward's principal favourite, and the chancellor, accepted annual pensions of two thousand crowns each; and twelve thousand more were yearly distributed among the marquess of Dorset, the lords Howard and Cheney, Sir Thomas Montgomery, Thomas St. Leger, and a few others. Most of these were not ashamed to recognize themselves as pensioners of the king of France; the lord Hastings alone, though he greedily accepted the money, could never be induced to put his signature to a receipt.[2]

But though Edward was satisfied, the military and the people did not conceal their disappointment. Of the former many accused the avarice of the king, and threatened with public vengeance the counsellors who had suffered themselves to be bribed by Louis; but they were carefully watched, and severely punished for the imprudence of their language. Others, as soon as the army was disbanded, formed associations, extorted money by violence, and threw several counties into confusion by repeated robberies and murders. To suppress these disorders the king directed the laws to be strictly enforced, accompanied the judges

[1] Rym. xii. 21. Du Tillet, 145. Archives de France, 242. Her description is "Ego Margarita olim in regno Angliæ maritata."—Thres. des Chart. 88.

[2] Com. iv. 8; vi. 2.

in their circuits, and inexorably refused mercy to every delinquent, whatever might have been his station or service. But the dissatisfaction of the people supplied a source of deeper disquietude. It was evident that they wanted only a leader to guide their efforts, and that the imposition of new taxes would infallibly goad them to insurrection. Hence it became the great object of the king's policy to provide for the expenses of his household, and of the government, without laying any additional burden on the nation. With this view he ordered the officers of the customs to exact the duties with severity, extorted frequent tenths from the clergy, levied large sums for the restoration of the temporalities of abbeys and bishoprics, resumed most of the grants lately made by the crown, and compelled the holders of estates, who had omitted any of the numerous minutiæ of the feudal tenures, to compound by heavy fines for the rents which they had hitherto received. Neither did he disdain the aid which might be derived from commercial enterprise. Edward's ships were annually freighted with tin, wool, and cloth; and the merchandise of the king of England was publicly exposed to sale in the ports of Italy and Greece. In a short time he became rich; though individuals might complain, the nation was satisfied; and men grew insensibly attached to a prince, who could support the splendour of the throne without making any general demand on the purses of his subjects.[1]

It was not, however, long before an event occurred which embittered the remainder of Edward's days. His brother Clarence by the act of resumption had

[1] For these interesting particulars we are indebted to the historian of Croyland, p. 559.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1476.

been deprived of several estates, and seems to have considered the loss an unjustifiable aggression. He withdrew from court, could seldom be persuaded to eat at the king's table, and at the council board observed the most obstinate silence. His wife, after the birth of her third child, fell into a state of debility, which, at the expiration of two months, terminated her life; and Ankaret Twynhyo, one of her female servants, was tried, condemned, and executed on the charge of having administered poison to the duchess.[1]

Dec. 22.

1477. Jan. 5.

It chanced that about the same time the duke of Burgundy fell at the siege of Nanci; and his immense possessions devolved on Mary, his only daughter and heir. Clarence solicited her hand; his suit was seconded by all the influence of his sister, the duchess Margaret; and it is thought that he would have succeeded had it not been for the resolute opposition of Edward. The king was too jealous of the ambition of a brother, who might employ the power of Burgundy to win for himself the crown of England, and too apprehensive of incurring the enmity of Louis, who had already seized a considerable portion of Mary's inheritance. From that moment the brothers viewed each other as enemies, and scarcely preserved in their intercourse the external forms of decorum. While they were thus irritated against each other, whether it were the effect of accident, or a preparatory step to the ruin of Clarence, Stacey, one of his servants, was accused of practising the art of magic, and of melting certain images of lead to accelerate the death of the lord Beauchamp. On the rack he named as his accomplice Thomas Burdett, a gentleman in the duke's family. They were arraigned together before

[1] Rot. Parl. vi. 173, 174.

the judges and most of the temporal peers; were charged with having calculated the nativities of the king and the prince, and of having circulated certain rhymes and ballads of a seditious tendency. After a short trial, both were condemned and executed. On the scaffold they protested against the sentence; Clarence immediately professed himself the champion of their innocence; and the next day Dr. Godard, an eminent divine, was introduced by him into the council-chamber to depose to their dying declarations. When these particulars, exaggerated perhaps by officious friends, had been communicated to Edward, he hastened from Windsor to London, sent for the duke, upbraided him with insulting the administration of justice, and in the presence of the mayor and sheriffs committed him to the Tower.[1]

CHAP. II. A.D. 1477.

A parliament was now summoned, and the unfortunate Clarence stood at the bar of the house of lords under a charge of high treason. Not one of the peers ventured to speak in his favour: the king produced his witnesses, and conducted the prosecution. He described the tender affection which he had formerly cherished for his brother, and the great possessions with which he had enriched him. Yet the ungrateful prince had turned against his benefactor had leagued with his enemies, had deprived him of his liberty, and had conspired to dethrone him. All this had been forgiven. Yet what was the return? Clarence had again formed the project of disinheriting him and his issue. For this purpose he had commissioned his servants to give public entertainments, during which they insinuated that Burdett had been

1477 Jan. 16.

[1] Cont. Croyl. 561, 562, compared with the indictment, in Howell's State Trials, iii. 364.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1478.

innocent of the crime for which he suffered, that the king was himself a magician, and therefore unfit to govern a Christian people, and what was more, was a bastard, and consequently without any right to the crown. Moreover, Clarence had induced men to swear that they would be true to him without any reservation of allegiance to their sovereign; had declared that he would recover both for himself and them the lands which had been lost by the act of resumption; had obtained and preserved an attested copy of the act declaring him the next heir to the crown after the male issue of Henry VI.; had sent orders to all his retainers to be in readiness to join him in arms at an hour's notice; and had endeavoured to substitute another person's child in the place of his own son, that he might send the latter out of the kingdom, as if his life were menaced by the enmity of his uncle.[1] How far these charges against Clarence were true, or whether they amounted to more than precautions against the malice of his enemies, it is impossible for us to decide; for though we know that he replied with warmth and acrimony, his reply has not been preserved. The peers were persuaded by the arguments of the royal accuser; they found Clarence guilty; and the duke of Buckingham, who had been appointed high steward for the occasion, pronounced

Feb. 7.

on him the sentence of death.[2] Soon afterwards an act was passed to reverse the judgment of Ankaret; and the commons petitioned the king to execute justice on his brother.[3] But Edward disapproved of

[1] See the long and laboured bill of attainder in Rot. Parl. vi. 193, 194.

[2] Ibid. 195.

[3] Ibid. 173. At the same time George Neville, son of the marquess Montague, who had been created duke of Bedford, was deprived of his title, on the pretence that he had not an income equal

a public exhibition. About ten days later it was announced that the duke had died in the Tower. The manner of his death has never been ascertained; but a silly report was circulated that he had been drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine.[1] CHAP. II. A.D. 1478. Feb. 18.

It was a singular but leading feature in the policy of this king, that he negotiated marriages for his children almost the very moment they were born. Elizabeth had long been contracted to the dauphin of France, Cecily to the son and heir of the king of Scotland, Anne to the infant son of Maximilian, archduke of Austria, and his eldest son to the eldest daughter of the duke of Bretagne. In all these projects he was disappointed, in two of them he was completely overreached. The instalments of the sum to be given with Cecily had for some years been regularly paid; in 1478 they were suspended, and in 1480 war was declared between England and Scotland. By some writers, the rupture has been attributed to the intrigues of Louis, who secretly stimulated James to break his alliance with Edward; by others, to the policy of Edward, who sought to convert to his own advantage the dissensions between the king and the nobles of Scotland. From public documents it appears that the two princes were highly exasperated against each other. Edward upbraided 1480.

to support it.—Ibid. And an act was passed "for the surety of all "lords, noblemen, and other the king's true servants and subjects," repealing the acts passed in the parliament summoned by Henry VI., during the absence of Edward, more than seven years before.—Rot. Parl. vi. 191.

[1] The historian of Croyland says only—factum est id, qualemcumque erat, genus supplicii (562). I suspect that the principal cause of Edward's jealousy against Clarence arose from his having been declared the next heir after Edward, the son of Henry VI. Supposing the validity of that act, he was even now the rightful heir; but it was one of the acts mentioned in the last note.

CHAP II. A.D. 1480.

James with meanness of conduct and breach of faith; and James returned the compliment with the contumelious appellation of "the robber," alluding probably to the manner in which his adversary had acquired the crown.[1] Great preparations were made; James placed himself at the head of the Scottish, the duke of Gloucester at the head of the English army, and the borderers renewed their depredations; yet two years elapsed before the war assumed a formidable appearance. The king of Scotland, who aspired to the reputation of taste and science, had long avoided the society of his proud but ignorant nobles, and admitted to his company none but a few artists, distinguished indeed in their respective professions, but born in the lower stations of life, and the more hateful in the sight of the natives, because some of them were foreigners. The discontent of the nobility was shared by the duke of Albany and the earl of Mar, the brothers of James, who, to intimidate the factious, suddenly arrested them both, and confined them in separate prisons, the former in the castle of Edinburgh, the other in that of Craigmillar. Albany, by the assistance of the captain of a French vessel, contrived to escape, and eluded the vengeance of his brother by a voluntary exile in Paris. The unfortunate Mar, on the very doubtful charge of magical practices against the life of the king, was condemned by the council, and, though he escaped the ignominy of a public execution, had a vein opened, and bled to death in prison. Revenge rankled in the breast of Albany, who, encouraged by the hostilities between the two powers, came to England, solicited the protection of Edward, and under the pretence that his

[1] Rym. xii. 115 117. Black Acts, fol. 56.

CHAP II. A.D. 1482. June 10.

brother was illegitimate, proclaimed himself king of Scotland.[1] It was stipulated, that Edward should employ his forces to place Albany on the throne, who, in return, should surrender the town and castle of Berwick; should hold the crown as the vassal of the English monarch; should abjure the national alliance with France; and should marry, if the laws of the church would permit (for he had even now two supposed wives living), one of the English princesses. Accompanied by the duke of Gloucester, who commanded an army of twenty-two thousand five hundred men, he laid siege to Berwick. The town opened its gates, the castle made a most obstinate resistance. James had summoned his retainers, and had advanced as far as Lauder, unaware of the danger which threatened him. It was generally during a military expedition that the Scottish barons made a successful stand against the authority of the sovereign. They were then assembled in a body; they were surrounded with their clans and retainers; and, if they were but united among themselves, they always proved more than a match for the power of the crown. They had met to consult in the church at Lauder, when Cochran the architect, whom the infatuated James had lately created earl of Mar, incautiously joined the assembly. He was instantly seized; six more of the royal favourites were dragged from the king's tent; and all were hanged over the bridge. The confederate chiefs immediately disbanded the army, and conveyed the king to the castle of Edinburgh, menacing him with perpetual imprisonment, unless he should grant a full pardon for the murder of his friends.[2]

[1] His mother, Mary of Gueldres, was not an immaculate character.—See Wyrcest. 492.

[2] Abercromb. ii. 446. Buch. 234.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1482.

The news of this extraordinary revolution quickly reached the army, which lay before Berwick; and Albany and Gloucester with sixteen thousand men hastened to Edinburgh. That capital received them as friends: and every man expected that the sceptre of Scotland would pass from the feeble hands of its possessor to the firmer grasp of his brother, when, to the astonishment of both nations, Albany signed an agreement with two Scottish peers and two prelates, by which *he* bound himself to act the part of a faithful subject to James, *they* to procure for him a pardon without any exceptions, and the restoration of his estates and honours. It was, however, stipulated, that to satisfy the king of England, the castle of Berwick should be surrendered, and the provost and merchants of Edinburgh should give security for the repayment of all moneys advanced on account of the marriage portion of Cecily, unless Edward were willing that the former contract should still subsist. The king, however, demanded the money, which was faithfully repaid. Albany took the castle of Edinburgh by force, and liberated his brother. To prove their reconciliation, they both rode to Holyrood-house on one horse, and slept in the same bed. Yet the restless mind of the duke was not satisfied. He renewed his negotiations with Edward; on the discovery of his traitorous designs escaped again into France, and was at last attainted by an act of the Scottish parliament.[1]

August 2.

August 3.

1483. Feb. 11.

Another instance in which the expectations of

[1] Rym. xii. 155—163, 172—179. Cont. Hist. Croyl. 563. He acquaints us that the king was not pleased with the result of the expedition, which had cost him more than 100,000*l*. The possession of Berwick was an advantage; but the expense of retaining it amounted to 10,000 marks yearly.—Ibid.

Edward were cruelly disappointed was the projected marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with the dauphin of France. When she had completed her twelfth year it was hoped that Louis, according to his engagement, would have sent for the princess, and have settled on her the stipulated annuity of sixty thousand francs. Four years passed; still she remained in England. Remonstrances were made, but Louis always returned some plausible answer. The parliament warned the king of the artifices of the French court; still he refused to suspect the sincerity of his good brother. An unexpected event opened his eyes. The princess Mary of Burgundy, who had borne her husband Maximilian two children, Philip and Margaret, was unexpectedly killed by a fall from her horse; and Louis, forgetting the princess Elizabeth, instantly demanded Margaret for the dauphin. It was in vain that the father hesitated. The people of Ghent, to whose custody the children had been intrusted, extorted his consent; Margaret was delivered by them to the commissioners of Louis; and the provinces, which that monarch had ravished from her mother, were settled upon her as her marriage portion. When the news reached Edward, he burst into a paroxysm of rage. From that moment his thoughts were constantly fixed, his conversation generally employed, on the readiest means of inflicting vengeance on the perfidy of the king of France. But whether it were owing to the agitation of his mind, or to the debaucheries in which he indulged, a slight ailment, which had been treated with neglect, suddenly exhibited the most dangerous symptoms. He spent the few days preceding his death in the exercises of religion, and directed that, out of the treasures which

CHAP. II. A.D. 1483.

1482. Dec. 23.

1483. April 9.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1483.

he should leave behind him, full restitution should be made to all whom he had wronged, or from whom he had extorted money under the name of benevolence. He expired in the twenty-third year of his reign.

Edward is said to have been the most accomplished, and, till he grew too unwieldy, the most handsome man of the age. The love of pleasure was his ruling passion. Few princes have been more magnificent in their dress,[1] or more licentious in their amours; few have indulged more freely in the luxuries of the table.[2] But such pursuits often interfered with his duties, and at last incapacitated him for active exertion. Even in youth, while he was fighting for the throne, he was always the last to join his adherents; and in manhood, when he was firmly seated on it, he entirely abandoned the charge of military affairs to his brother the duke of Gloucester.[3] To the chief supporters of the opposite party he was cruel and unforgiving; the blood which he shed intimidated his friends no less than his foes; and both lords and commons during his reign, instead of contending like their predecessors for the establishment of rights, and the abolition of grievances, made it their principal study to gratify the royal pleasure.[4] He was as suspicious as he was cruel.

[1] At the Christmas before his death he appeared in a new dress. His robes were furnished with sleeves enormously long and deep, lined with the most precious furs, and folded back on his shoulders: "Novum," says the historian, "et singulare intuentibus spectaculum."—Cont. Croyl. 563.

[2] In homine tam corpulento, tantis sodalitiis, vanitatibus, crapulis, luxuriæ et cupiditatibus dedito.—Id. 564.

[3] During the Scottish campaign posts were first established in England. Horsemen were placed at the distance of twenty miles from each other on the road from Scotland to London. They delivered the despatches from one to another at the rate of 100 miles a day.—Cont. Croyl. 571.

[4] We shall search in vain on the Rolls for such petitions as were

CHAP. II. A.D. 1483.

Every officer of government, every steward on his manors and farms, was employed as a spy on the conduct of all around him; they regularly made to the king reports of the state of the neighbourhood; and such was the fidelity of his memory, that it was difficult to mention an individual of any consequence, even in the most distant counties, with whose character, history, and influence he was not accurately acquainted.[1] Hence every project of opposition to his government was suppressed almost as soon as it was formed; and Edward might have promised himself a long and prosperous reign, had not continued indulgence enervated his constitution, and sown the seeds of that malady which consigned him to the grave in the forty-first year of his age. He was buried with the usual pomp in the new chapel at Windsor.[2]

The king left two sons, Edward in his twelfth year, who succeeded him, and Richard in his eleventh, duke of York, and earl marshal. This young prince had been married in his fifth year to Anne, the daughter and heiress of John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, and thus became entitled to the immense estates of that nobleman. Five of Edward's daughters survived him.

presented to the throne by the commons in former reigns; but one improvement was firmly established, that of framing the petitions in the form of an act of parliament,—an improvement which prevented any of those alterations in the statutes of which the commons formerly complained. The clerks had now nothing more to do than to copy the words of the petition, and to add to it that the king had given his assent.

[1] Cont. Croyl. 562, 564.

[2] The ceremony of his interment may be read in Sandford (Geneal. Hist. p. 4—13). Immediately after his death he was exposed on a board, naked from the waist upwards, during ten hours, that he might be seen by all the lords spiritual and temporal, and by the mayor and aldermen of London.—Ibid.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1483.

Of these, four, whom he had so anxiously laboured to place on foreign thrones, found husbands in England. Elizabeth, contracted to the dauphin, was married to Henry VII.; Cecily, the destined wife of the prince of Scotland, to the viscount Welles; Anne, who had been promised to Philip of Burgundy, to Thomas Howard, afterwards duke of Norfolk; and Catherine, the expected bride of the infant of Spain, to William Courtenay, earl of Devon. Bridget became a nun in the convent at Dartford.

CHAPTER III.

EDWARD V.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emp. of Germ.	*K. of Scotland.*	*K. of France.*	*Sov. of Spain.*
Frederic III.	James III.	Louis XI.	Isabella } Ferdinand }

Pope.—Sixtus IV.

CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER—ARRESTS—THE DUKE IS MADE PROTECTOR—MURDER OF LORD HASTINGS AND THE EARL RIVERS—PENANCE OF JANE SHORE—THE DUKE ASPIRES TO THE CROWN—SERMON IN HIS FAVOUR—SPEECH OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM—OFFER OF THE CROWN TO GLOUCESTER—WHO ACCEPTS IT.

A FAINT glimmering of light may be thrown on the dark transactions which followed the death of the late king by adverting to the state of parties at the close of his reign. Whether it were that Edward had been compelled by the importunities of his wife, or that he felt a pride in aggrandizing the family of her whom he had placed by his side on the throne, he had successively raised her relations from the condition of knights and esquires to the highest honours and offices in the state. By the more ancient nobility their rapid elevation was viewed with jealousy and resentment; and their influence, though it appeared for-

CHAP. III. A.D. 1483.

midable, while it was supported by the favour of the king, proved in the sequel to be very inconsiderable, and confined to the few families into which they had married. The marquess of Dorset, the queen's son by a former marriage, and her brother, the accomplished but unfortunate Earl Rivers, possessed the first seats at the council-board; but they were continually opposed by the lords Hastings, Howard, and Stanley, the king's personal friends, particularly the first, whom Edward had chosen for the companion of his pleasures, and who on that very account was the more odious to the queen. The monarch during his health had balanced by his prudence the rivalry, and silenced by his authority the dissensions, of the two parties; and on his death-bed, warned by the unfortunate minority of Henry VI., had called them into his chamber, exhorted them to mutual forgiveness, and commanded them to embrace in his presence. They obeyed with apparent cheerfulness; but their hearts gave the lie to the sentiments which they uttered, and the lapse of a few days proved how treacherous were all such reconciliations, when he by whose order they had been made, no longer lived to enforce them.[1]

[1] More's Works, 38—40, edit. of 1557. For our knowledge of the events of this period we are chiefly indebted to the continuator of the History of Croyland, and Sir Thomas More. The first was a contemporary. His name is unknown; but it appears from his work that he was a doctor of canon law, sometimes a member of the council under Edward IV., and occasionally employed by him as envoy to foreign powers (p. 557). He declares that he has written with truth and impartiality. Sine ulla scita intermixtione mendacii, odii, aut favoris (575). Sir Thomas More was born in 1480. In 1513, when he was under-sheriff of London, he wrote his History of Richard III., according to Rastell, who printed it in 1557 from a copy in More's handwriting. But Mr. Ellis has observed that the writer speaks of Edward IV. as if he had been present during the last

CHAP. III. A.D. 1483. — April 9.

As soon as the king had expired, the council assembled, and resolved to proclaim his eldest son by the style of Edward V. But here their unanimity ended. The young prince, accompanied by his uncle, Earl Rivers, and his uterine brother, Lord Grey, had been sent to Ludlow in Shropshire, under the pretext that his presence would serve to restrain the natives of Wales; but in reality, that by growing up under their tuition, he might become more attached to his maternal relatives. A suspicion was entertained that, in imitation of Isabella, the mother of Edward III., the queen would aspire to a considerable share of authority during the minority of her son; and to defeat her designs, the enemies of the Wydeviles anxiously expected the arrival of the duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, and the duke of Buckingham, the lineal descendant of Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest son of Edward III. When Elizabeth proposed that Rivers and Grey should conduct Edward from Ludlow to the metropolis under the protection of an army, Hastings and his friends took the alarm. Gloucester and Buckingham were still absent; the Tower was in the possession of the marquess of Dorset; the king was surrounded by the queen's creatures; and the addition of an army would place her opponents at her mercy, and enable the Wydeviles to establish their authority. Where, they asked, was the necessity of an army? Who were the enemies against whom it was to be directed? Did the Wydeviles mean to break the reconciliation which they

sickness of that monarch, which could not be the case with More, only three years old; and he is therefore inclined to believe that More was only the copier of a MS. delivered to him by some one else, probably Dr. Morton.—Pref. to Hardynge, xx.

CHAP. III. A.D. 1483.

had sworn to observe? A long and angry altercation ensued; Hastings declared that he would quit the court, and retire to his command at Calais; the queen thought it prudent to yield; and in an evil hour the resolution was taken that the retinue of the young king should not exceed two thousand horsemen.[1]

Richard, duke of Gloucester, was a prince of insatiable ambition, who could conceal the most bloody projects under the mask of affection and loyalty. Having the command of the army against the Scots, he was employed in the marches at the time of his brother's death; but the moment he heard of that event, he repaired to York with a train of six hundred knights and esquires dressed in mourning, ordered the obsequies of the deceased king to be performed with royal magnificence in the cathedral, summoned the gentlemen of the county to swear allegiance to Edward V.; and, to give them an example, was himself the first who took the oath. At the same time he despatched letters to profess his affection and loyalty to his nephew, to condole with Elizabeth on the loss of her consort, and to offer his friendship to the earl Rivers, and the other lords of the queen's family. Having added to the number of his followers, he proceeded southward, avowedly for the purpose of assisting at the coronation, which had been fixed by the council for the fourth of May.[2]

With the object of the secret messages which during this interval had passed between the duke, and Buckingham, and Hastings, we are unacquainted; of their import we may form a probable conjecture from the events which immediately succeeded. The

[1] Cont. Croyl. 565. More, 41. [2] Ibid.

young Edward had reached Stony Stratford on his road to London, on the same day on which his uncle arrived at Northampton, about ten miles behind him. The lords Rivers and Grey hastened to welcome Gloucester in the name of the king, and to submit to his approbation the orders which had been framed for the royal entry into the metropolis. They were received with distinction, and invited to dine with the duke, who lavished on them marks of his esteem and friendship. In the evening came the duke of Buckingham with a suite of three hundred horsemen. After supper Rivers and Grey retired to their quarters, highly pleased with their reception; the two princes, left to themselves, arranged the plan of their proceedings for the next day. CHAP. III. A.D. 1483. April 29.

In the morning it was discovered that every outlet from the town had been strongly guarded during the night, for the purpose, it was said, of preventing any person from paying his respects to the king before the arrival of his uncle. The circumstance awakened suspicion; but the four lords rode in company, and apparently in friendship, to the entrance of Stony Stratford, when Gloucester suddenly accused Rivers and Grey of having estranged from him the affection of his nephew. They denied the charge, but were immediately arrested, and conducted into the rear. The two dukes proceeded to the house where the king resided, and approached him bending the knee, and professing their loyalty and attachment. But after this outward demonstration of respect, they apprehended Sir Thomas Vaughan and Sir Richard Hawse, his confidential servants, ordered the rest of his retinue to disperse, and forbade by proclamation any of them to return into the royal presence under April 30.

CHAP. III. A.D. 1483.

the penalty of death. The prince, abandoned and alarmed, burst into tears; but Gloucester, on his knees, conjured him to dismiss his terrors, to rely on the affection of his uncle, and to believe that these precautions had been rendered necessary by the perfidy of the Wydeviles. He conducted Edward back to Northampton, and ordered the four prisoners to be conveyed under a strong guard to his castle of Pontefract.[1]

The same evening this mysterious transaction was confidentially announced to the lord Hastings, and soon afterwards was communicated to the queen mother, who, foreboding the ruin of her family,

May 1.

hastily retired with her second son, Richard, her five daughters, and the marquess of Dorset, into the sanctuary at Westminster, and was there lodged in the abbot's apartments. That asylum had formerly been respected by her greatest enemy, the earl of Warwick it would not, she trusted, be violated by a brother-in law. The capital was instantly thrown into confusion. The citizens armed themselves; some repaired to Elizabeth in Westminster; others to the lord Hastings in London. That nobleman in general terms assured his friends, what he probably believed himself, that the two dukes were loyal subjects; but their real purpose was preserved an impenetrable secret; and the adherents of the queen, without a leader, and without information, awaited the result in the most anxious uncertainty.[2]

May 4.

On the fourth of May, the day originally appointed for the coronation, Gloucester conducted his captive nephew into the metropolis. At Hornsey Park they

[1] Cont. Croyl. 565. More, 41, 42.
[2] Cont. Croyl. 565, 566. More, 43.

were met by the lord mayor and aldermen in scarlet, followed by five hundred citizens in violet. The young king wore a long mantle of blue velvet, his attendants were dressed in deep mourning; Gloucester rode before him with his head bare, and pointed him out to the acclamations of the citizens. He was lodged with all the honours of royalty in the palace of the bishop, and immediately received the fealty and homage of the prelates, lords, and commoners, who were present. A great council had been summoned, and continued to sit during several days. On the motion of the duke of Buckingham the king was removed to the Tower; a distant day, the 22nd of June, was fixed for the coronation; the seals were taken from the archbishop of York and given to the bishop of Lincoln; several officers of the crown were dismissed, to make room for the adherents of the ruling party; and Gloucester, who had been appointed protector, assumed the lofty style of "brother and "uncle of kings, protectour and defensour, great "chamberlayne, constable, and lord high admiral of "England."[1]

May 4.

May 27.

What may have been the original object of this prince can be only matter for conjecture. It is not often that the adventurer discerns at the outset the goal at which he ultimately arrives. The tide of events bears him forward; and past success urges him to still higher attempts. If the duke aspired to nothing more than the protectorate, his ambition was not to be blamed. It was a dignity which the precedents of the two last minorities seemed to have attached to the king's uncle. But it soon appeared that he could

[1] Cont. Croyl. 566. More, 47. Rym. xii. Buck, in Kennet, 522. Fab. 513. Drake's Eborac. 115.

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not stand so near to the throne, without wishing to place himself on it; and that, when he had once taken his resolve, no consideration of blood, or justice, or humanity, could divert him from his object. He proceeded, however, with that caution and dissimulation which marked his character; his designs were but gradually and partially unfolded; nor did he openly avow his pretension to the crown, till he had removed the most trusty of the king's friends, and taken from the rest every hope of opposing him with success.

While orders were issued and preparations made for the expected coronation, Gloucester was busily employed in maturing his plans, and despatching instructions to his adherents. The council met daily at the royal apartments in the Tower; the confidants of the protector at Crosby-place, in Bishopsgate-street, his residence in London. These separate meetings did not escape the notice of Lord Stanley; but his suspicion was lulled by the assurance of Hastings that he had secured the services of a trusty agent, through whom he learned the most secret counsels of Gloucester. The sequel will make it probable that this trusty agent deceived and betrayed him. A

June 5.

summons was issued to forty-eight lords and gentlemen to attend, and receive knighthood preparatory to the coronation of the young king, a measure devised as a blind by the protector; for three days later he despatched orders to his retainers in the north to hasten to London for his protection against the bloody designs of the queen and her kinsmen; and shortly afterwards entering the council-chamber at the Tower, he stood at first in silence knitting his brows, and then in answer to a remark by Lord Hastings, called him a traitor, and struck his fist upon the

table. A voice at the door exclaimed, "Treason," and a body of ruffians bursting into the room arrested Hastings, Stanley, and the two prelates York and Ely. The three last were conveyed to separate cells; Hastings was told to prepare for immediate execution. It was in vain that he inquired the cause. The order of the protector would not admit of delay; the first priest who offered himself received his confession; and a piece of timber, which accidentally lay in the green at the door of the chapel, served for the block on which he was beheaded. A proclamation was issued the same afternoon, announcing that Hastings and his friends had conspired to put to death the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, who had miraculously escaped the snare laid for their destruction.[1] June 3.

On the same day (and the time should be noticed) Ratcliffe, one of the boldest partisans of the protector, at the head of a numerous body of armed men, entered the castle of Pontefract, and made himself master of the lord Grey, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawse. To the spectators it was announced that they had been guilty of treason; but no judicial forms were observed; and the heads of the victims were struck off in the presence of the multitude.[2] Two days after- June 15.

[1] Cont. Croyl. 566. More, 53, 54. Polydor. 536.

[2] Cont. Croyl. 567. More asserts repeatedly that these murders occurred on the same day as that of Lord Hastings. This may be true of the others, but is not correct as to lord Rivers, who was indeed put to death at Pontefract, but a few days later, and by command of the earl of Northumberland.—Rouse, 214. We have his will dated at Sheriff Hutton on the 23rd of June; a long and elaborate instrument, composed probably under the apprehension, but without any certain knowledge, of the fate which awaited him. If he died beyond the Trent, he directs his body to be buried before our lady of Pewe, besides St. Stephen's college at Westminster; otherwise his heart to be taken and buried there. But at the end of the will, immediately after the names of the witnesses, we meet

CHAP. III. A.D. 1483.

wards a letter from the duke was delivered by Ratcliffe to the mayor and citizens of York, informing them of the traitorous designs imputed to Elizabeth and the Wydeviles; and four days later proclamations were issued in the northern counties, commanding all men "to rise, and come to London under the earl "of Northumberland and the lord Neville, to assist "in subduing, correcting, and punishing the quene, "her blode, and other her adherents, who entended "to murder and destroy the protectour and his cousyn "the duc of Buckyngham, and the old royal blode of "the realm."[1]

June 19.

With these proceedings in the north, the inhabitants of London were yet unacquainted; but the murder of Hastings, and the arrest of Stanley and the two prelates, had freed Gloucester from all apprehensions on the part of those who were most attached to the family of the late king. Of the royal brothers the elder had been securely lodged in the Tower; the younger still remained in sanctuary under

with this affecting and significant passage. "My will is *now* to be "buried before an image of our blessed lady Mary with my lord "Richard, in Pomfrete; and Ih'u have mercy of my soule, &c." It is plain that this addition was made by him after he had received notice of his approaching execution, and at a moment when haste or perturbation of mind prevented him from finishing what he meant to write. The direction for his burial with "the lord Richard (Gray)" shows that that nobleman had already been put to death, and was interred in the church at Pontefract.—See the will, Excerpt. Histor. p. 246.

[1] See the originals in Drake's Eboracum, 115. It is observable that on the 8th Richard wrote to the citizens of York a cajoling letter, promising to reward them for their constant attachment to him; and two days later, on the 10th, but three days before the murders in the Tower and at Pontefract, he wrote again to inform them of the plots against his life by the Queen and her friends. The letter was five days on the road, and was delivered by Ratcliffe to the mayor.

the eye of Elizabeth. Him also, the protector resolved to have at his mercy; and before the terror created by the late execution could subside, he proceeded to Westminster in his barge, accompanied by several noblemen and prelates, and followed by a numerous body of armed men. There cannot be a doubt that he intended to employ force, if force should be found necessary; but he determined to try first the influence of persuasion, and ordered a deputation of lords with the cardinal of Canterbury at their head, to enter and demand the young prince from his mother. The ingenious arguments which Sir Thomas More has attributed to the prelate, and the affecting replies which he has put into the mouth of the queen, are probably the composition of the writer;[1] a better authority assures us that Elizabeth, convinced of the inutility of resistance, affected to acquiesce with cheerfulness in the demand. She called for her boy, gave him a last and hasty embrace, and turning her back, burst into tears. The innocent victim was conducted with great pomp to the Tower; and while the mother abandoned herself to the prophetic misgivings of her heart, her sons made themselves happy in the company of each other, little suspecting the wiles and cruelty of their unnatural uncle.[2]

June 16.

The partisans of the protector were now employed in circulating the most strange and incredible rumours Some revived the tale originally invented by Clarence, that the late king, though the reputed son of the duke of York, was in reality the fruit of an adulterous intercourse between his mother Cecily and a knight in the service of her husband. Others, and in greater numbers, affected to throw doubts on the validity of

[1] More, 48–51.

[2] Cont. Croyl. 566.

CHAP. III. A.D. 1483.

his marriage with Elizabeth, and consequently on the legitimacy of his children by that lady. To aid these impressions, the protector appeared in a new character, that of the patron and avenger of public morals. Among the married women who were known to have yielded to the desires of Edward, was Jane, the wife of Shore, a young and opulent citizen. From the moment that her seduction became public, she had been abandoned by her husband; and notwithstanding the inconstancy of her lover, had contrived to retain the principal place in the king's affections till the time of his death. This woman, whose husband was now dead, Richard singled out for punishment. Her plate and jewels, to the value of three thousand marks, he very wisely appropriated to himself; her person he delivered over to the ecclesiastical court to be punished according to the canons. In her kirtle, with her feet bare, carrying a lighted taper in her hand, and preceded by an officer bearing the cross, Shore was compelled to walk through the streets of the capital lined with an immense concourse of people.[1] That her penance could not affect the title of Edward's children, is evident; but it served to direct the attention of the public to the dissolute conduct of that monarch, and to prepare men for the marvellous scene which was soon to be exhibited.

June 18.

By this time the retainers of the late Lord Hastings, and a numerous body of Welshmen, had joined the duke of Buckingham; and the ruffians who had mur-

[1] More, 56, 57. He gives her in one respect a commendable character. "Many the king had, but her he loved, whose favour to "say the truth (for sin it were to belie the devil) she never abused "to any man's hurt, but to many a man's comfort and relief . . . . "and now she beggeth of many at this day living, that at this day "had begged, if she had not been."—Ibid

dered the prisoners at Pontefract had reached the neighbourhood of London with a force of Yorkshiremen. It was believed that, in the course of the week, the protector and the duke would have twenty thousand armed men under their command in the metropolis.[1] In these circumstances no danger could be apprehended from the public exposure of Gloucester's object. On the next Sunday, therefore, he appointed Dr. Shaw, the brother of the lord mayor, to preach at St. Paul's Cross, who selected for his text the following passage of the Book of Wisdom: "Bastard "slips shall not strike deep roots." Having maintained from different examples that children were seldom permitted to enjoy the fruit of their father's iniquity he proceeded to describe the well-known libertinism of the late king, who, he averred, had been in the habit of promising marriage to every woman whom he found it difficult to seduce. Thus in the beginning of his reign, to gratify his passion, he had not hesitated to contract marriage in private with Eleanor, the widow of the lord Boteler of Sudely,[2] and afterwards had married in the same clandestine manner Elizabeth, the widow of Sir John Grey. At a subsequent period he had thought proper to acknowledge the second contract; but such acknowledgment could not annul the prior right of Eleanor, who in the eyes of God and man was the true wife of the king. Hence the preacher concluded that Elizabeth, though

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June 22.

[1] "Yt is thought ther schalbe xx thousand of my lord protectour "and my lord Bukyngham men in London this weike, to what in-"tent I knowe note but to kep the peas."—Stallworth to Sir William Stoner, xxi June. Excerpt. Hist. 17.

[2] In Sir Thomas More, Elizabeth Lucy is substituted for Lady Boteler. It is probably an accidental mistake, as both are said to have been Edward's mistresses.—More, 61.

CHAP. III. A.D. 1483.

admitted as queen of England, could be considered in no other light than a concubine; and that her children by Edward had no legitimate claim to the succession of their father. Indeed, he entertained a doubt, whether that prince were in reality the son of Richard duke of York, and real heir to the crown. All who had been acquainted with the duke must know that there existed no resemblance between him and Edward. "But," he exclaimed (and at the very moment the protector, as if by accident, passing through the crowd, showed himself from a balcony near the pulpit), "here, in the duke of Gloucester, we have the very "picture of that hero; here every lineament reflects "the features of the father." It was expected that at these words the citizens would have exclaimed, "Long live King Richard;" but they gazed on each other in silent astonishment; the protector put on an air of displeasure; and the preacher having hastily concluded his sermon, slunk away to his home. It is said, that he never afterwards ventured beyond his own door, but pined away through shame and remorse.[1]

Richard, however, was not disheartened by the

[1] More, 60, 61. This sermon is rejected by the author of the Historic Doubts. That several of the speeches recorded by Sir Thomas More are mere rhetorical exercises, is indeed probable; but it is equally probable that in mentioning this public and celebrated sermon, which was still in the recollection of many of his readers, he would preserve at least its substance. The principal part of his narrative is moreover corroborated by the testimony of Fabyan (p. 514, 515), who was probably present. To the objection that the protector lived in habits of friendship with his mother, and therefore would not allow her character to be aspersed, it may be replied that there is no satisfactory proof of that friendship, and that the man who could shed the blood of two nephews to procure the crown, would not refuse to allow the character of his mother to be slandered for the same purpose.

failure of this attempt; but intrusted his cause to the eloquence of a more noble advocate. On the next Tuesday the Duke of Buckingham, attended by several lords and gentlemen, harangued the citizens from the hustings at Guildhall. He reminded them of Edward's tyranny, of the sums which he had extorted under the name of benevolence, and of the families which he had rendered unhappy by his amours. He then took occasion to allude to the sermon which they had heard on the last Sunday, the story of the king's pre-contract with the lady Boteler, his subsequent union with the lady Grey, and the illegitimacy of the children, the fruit of that pretended marriage. He added, that evidently the right to the crown was in Richard duke of Gloucester, the only true issue of the duke of York, and that the lords and commons of the northern counties had sworn never to submit to the rule of a bastard. Contrary to his expectations the citizens were still silent; he at length required an answer, whether it were in favour of the protector or not; and a few persons, hired for the purpose, and stationed at the bottom of the hall, having thrown up their bonnets, and exclaimed "King Richard," the duke gave the assembly his thanks for their assent, and invited them to accompany him the next day to Baynard's Castle, which was at that time the residence of the duke of Gloucester.[1]

CHAP. III. A.D. 1483 — June 24.

In the morning Buckingham, with many lords and gentlemen, and Shaw, the lord mayor, with the principal citizens, proceeded to the palace, and demanded an audience.[2] The protector affected to be surprised

June 25.

[1] More, 61—65. Fab. 515.

[2] A parliament had been summoned for this very day, and Buckingham would take advantage of the arrival of the members to in-

CHAP. III. A.D. 1483.

at their arrival; expressed apprehensions for his safety; and when at last he showed himself at a window, appeared before them with strong marks of embarrassment and perturbation. Buckingham, with his permission, presented to him an address, which, having been afterwards embodied in an act of parliament, still exists for the information of posterity. It is styled the consideration, election, and petition of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of this realm of England; and after an exaggerated picture of the former prosperity of the kingdom, and of its misery under the late king, proceeds thus: "Also we "consider how the pretensed marriage betwixt the "above-named king Edward and Elizabeth Grey, "was made of great presumption, without the know-"ing and assent of the lords of this land, and also "by sorcery and witchcraft committed by the said "Elizabeth and her mother Jacquetta, duchess of "Bedford, as the common opinion of the people, and "the public voice and fame is throughout all this "land, and hereafter, and as the case shall require, "shall be proved sufficiently in time and place "convenient; and here also we consider how that "the said pretensed marriage was made privily and "secretly, without edition of banns, in a private cham-"ber, a profane place, and not openly in the face of "the church after the law of God's church, but con-

duce many of them to accompany him. But there is no reason to believe that any parliament was regularly held, though there exists among the Cotton MS. (Vitel. E. 10) a copy of a speech with which the bishop of Lincoln, the chancellor, is supposed to have opened it, beginning with a text from the service of the feast of St. John the Baptist, kept on the 24th, the day before. The chancellor, unaware of the revolution which was about to take place, had prepared his speech, which, though never spoken, has accidentally been preserved.

"trary thereunto, and the laudable custom of the "Church of England; and how also that at the time "of the contract of the said pretensed marriage, and "before and long after, the said king Edward was and "stood married and troth-plight to one Dame Eleanor "Butteler, daughter of the old earl of Shrewsbury, "with whom the said king Edward had made a pre-"contract of matrimony long time before he made the "said pretensed marriage with the said Elizabeth "Grey in manner and form aforesaid; which premises "being true, as in very truth they be true, it appeareth "and followeth evidently that the said king Edward, "during his life, and the said Elizabeth, lived together "sinfully and damnably in adultery against the law "of God and of his Church. Also it appeareth evi-"dently and followeth, that all the issue and children "of the said king Edward be bastards, and unable to "inherit or to claim any thing by inheritance by the "law and custom of England." Next is recited the attainder of the duke of Clarence, by which his children were debarred from the succession; and thence it is inferred that the protector is the next heir to Richard, late duke of York. "And hereupon," continues the petition, "we humbly desire, pray, and require your "noble grace, that according to this election of us, "the three estates of your land, as by your true "inheritance, you will accept and take upon you "the said crown and royal dignity, with all things "thereunto annexed and appertaining, as to you of "right belonging, as well by inheritance as by lawful "election."[1]

[1] Rot. Parl. vi. 240, 241. Cont. Croyl. 567. But was there ever any such person as Dame Eleanor Butteler, daughter of the old earl of Shrewsbury? We know so little about her, that her existence

CHAP. III. A.D. 1483.

The protector was careful not to dispute the truth of these assertions. But he replied with modesty, that he was not ambitious: that royalty had no charms for him: that he was much attached to the children of his brother, and would preserve the crown to grace the brows of his nephew. "Sir," returned the duke of Buckingham, "the free people of England will never "crouch to the rule of a bastard, and if the lawful heir "refuse the sceptre, we know where to find one who "will cheerfully accept it." At these words Richard affected to pause; and after a short silence replied, "that it was his duty to obey the voice of his people; "that since he was the true heir and had been chosen "by the three estates, he assented to their petition, "and would from that day take upon himself the "royal estate, pre-eminence, and the kingdom of the "two noble realms of England and France; the one "from that day forward by him and his heirs to rule, "the other by God's grace and their good help to get "again and subdue."[1]

June 26.

Thus ended this hypocritical farce. The next day Richard proceeded to Westminster in state, and took possession of his pretended inheritance by placing himself on the marble seat in the great hall, with the lord Howard, afterwards duke of Norfolk, on his right hand, and the duke of Suffolk on his left. To those present he stated that he had chosen to commence his

has been called in question. There is, however, in the possession of Lord Shrewsbury, an illuminated pedigree by Glover in 1580, in which she is named as the first born of the second marriage of the first earl (with a daughter of Beauchamp, earl of Warwick), and as wife of Sir Thomas Butler, Lord Sudeley. If this be correct, there must have been the disparity of at least fifteen years, probably of more, between her age and that of Edward.

[1] More, 66.

reign in that place, because the administration of justice was the first duty of a king; and ordered proclamation to be made that he forgave all offences which had been committed against him before that hour. From Westminister he went to St. Paul's, where he was received by the clergy in procession, and welcomed with the acclamations of the people. From that day, the 26th of June, he dated the commencement of his reign.[1]

[1] Ibid. 67. Fab. 515. Cont. Croyl. 566, and Richard's own letter to the garrison of Calais, Buck, p. 522. See Note (B) at the end of the volume.

CHAPTER IV.

RICHARD III.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emp. of Germ	*K. of Scotland.*	*K. of France.*	*Sov. of Spain.*
Frederic III.	James III.	Louis XI....1483.	Isabella
		Charles VIII.	Ferdinand

Popes.

Sixtus IV. 1484. Innocent VIII.

CORONATION OF RICHARD—DEATH OF HIS TWO NEPHEWS—CONSPIRACY AGAINST HIM DEFEATED—IS RECONCILED WITH ELIZABETH—WISHES TO MARRY HIS NIECE—RAISES AN ARMY AGAINST THE EARL OF RICHMOND—IS KILLED IN THE BATTLE AT BOSWORTH.

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1483.

The preparations, which had been made for the coronation of the nephew, served for that of the uncle; and the arrival of Ratcliffe, with four thousand armed men from the north, dispelled all fear of opposition from the friends of the Wydeviles. In less than a

July 6.

fortnight from his acceptance of the petition at Baynard's Castle, Richard was crowned at Westminister with his consort Anne, the daughter of the late earl of Warwick.[1] No expense was spared to give splendour

[1] In the contemporary account of this coronation we are told that the anointing was performed in the following extraordinary manner. "Then the kyng and the quene put of ther robes, and there (at the "high altar) stode all nakyd from the medell upwards, and anone

to the ceremony; almost all the peers and peeresses graced it with their presence; and it was remarked that the train of the king was borne by the duke of Buckingham, that of the queen by the countess of Richmond, both descendants of John of Ghent, and the heads of the house of Lancaster.[1]

The new king employed the first days of his reign in acts of favour and clemency. The lord Stanley, the husband of the countess of Richmond, had not only appeased his jealousy, but was appointed steward of the household, and afterward constable of England; the archbishop of York regained his liberty; Morton, bishop of Ely, was released from his dungeon in the Tower, and committed to the custody of the duke of Buckingham in the castle of Brecknock; the lord Howard obtained the office of earl marshal, with the title of duke of Norfolk; his son was created earl of Surrey; many of the nobility were raised to a higher rank; and the treasures amassed and left by Edward

"the Bushope anoynted bothe the kyng and the quyne."—Excerpt. Hist. 381. This statement, however, must not be taken literally. The king at his coronation, after he had been disrobed of his mantle and surcoat by his chamberlain, remained in a close dress of crimson satin, in which openings had been already prepared for the anointments on his back, breast, shoulders, and elbows. The queen was anointed on the forehead and the chest only; so that one opening sufficed in her dress, which was unlaced and relaced by the lady in waiting. A large pall or awning was held over them during the ceremony. See the device for the coronation in Rutland Papers, p. 8, 9, 16'20; see also Selden, Titles of Honour, c. viii.

[1] Cont. Croyl. 567. Hall, 25, 26. In the Historic Doubts (p. 65) we are told that the deposed prince walked in the procession; because it appears that robes were ordered for him and his henchmen or pages. The inference is far from correct, as the robes charged in the roll (Archæol. i. 372, 373) are probably those which had been ordered and made for Edward's *own* coronation. To have forced him to walk on such an occasion would have been a dangerous experiment: nor could it have escaped the notice of the contemporary writers, who mention the principal personages.

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1483.

were lavishly employed in the reward of past, and the purchase of future services.

Richard had of late affected an extraordinary zeal for the suppression of crime and the reformation of manners. Before their departure, he called the lords before him and admonished them to keep the peace in their counties, and to assist his officers in the apprehension and punishment of offenders. Within

July 23.

a few days he followed them himself, declaring it to be his intention to travel through the kingdom for the same purpose. His progress was slow. In all the great towns he administered justice in person, listened to petitions, and dispensed favours.[1] The inhabitants of Oxford, Woodstock, Gloucester, and Worcester

August 8.

were honoured with his presence; at Warwick he was joined by the queen, the Spanish ambassadors, and many of the nobility; and the court, after a week's

August 15.

residence in that city, proceeded through Coventry, Leicester, Nottingham, and Pontefract, to York.[2]

August 31.

The inhabitants had been previously warned to display every mark of joy, "that the southern lords "might mark the resayving of their graces." The gentlemen of the neighbourhood had received orders to attend, and to do the king homage; and part of the royal wardrobe had been forwarded from London, that Richard and his queen might appear in their most splendid dresses. To please the men of the north, among whom he had for some years been popular, he was again crowned with his consort; and the ceremony was performed with the same

[1] Apud Drake, Eborac. 116.

[2] Rouse, 217. I am the more particular in noticing this progress, as Laing has crowded the whole of it into the short space of seven days (p. 420).

pomp and pageantry which had been exhibited in the metropolis.[1]

While Richard was thus spending his time in apparent security at York, he was apprised of the tempest which had been gathering behind him. The terror of his presence had before silenced the suspicions of the public; but he was no sooner gone, than men freely communicated their thoughts to each other, commiserated the lot of the young Edward and his brother in the Tower, and openly condemned the usurpation of the crown by their unnatural uncle. Different plans were suggested. Some proposed to liberate the two princes from their confinement; others preferred the less dangerous measure of conveying one or more of their sisters beyond sea, that, whatever might be the subsequent policy of Richard, the posterity of his brother might survive to claim, perhaps to recover, the crown. But the king, though it was unknown, had already guarded against the first of these projects by the murder of his nephews; and to prevent the second, he had ordered John Nesfield to surround the sanctuary of Westminster with a body of armed men, and to refuse ingress or egress to any person without a special license.[2] Meanwhile the friends of the princes steadily pursued their object. In Kent, Essex, and Sussex, in Berkshire, Hants, Wilts, and Devonshire, meetings were privately held; a resolution was taken to appeal to arms; and the hopes of the confederates were raised by the unexpected accession of a most powerful ally. What, in the course of a few weeks, could have changed the duke of Buckingham from a zealous friend into a

[1] Drake's Eborac. 116, 117. Cont. Croyl. 567.
[2] Cont. Croyl. 567, 568.

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determined enemy to the new king, it is in vain to conjecture. If his services to Richard had been great, they had been amply rewarded. He had been made constable of England, justiciary of Wales, governor of the royal castles in that principality, and steward of the king's manors in Hereford and Shropshire; and in addition had obtained the opulent inheritance of Humphrey de Bohun, which the late monarch had unjustly annexed to his own demesnes.[1] Perhaps his knowledge of the cruel and suspicious character of the usurper had taught him to fear that he himself, to whom the Lancastrians looked up for protection, might be the next victim; perhaps, as has been said, his opinions were changed by the artful and eloquent observations of his prisoner Morton. However that may be, Buckingham, whose wife was the sister of Elizabeth, engaged to restore the crown to the young prince, whom he had contributed to dethrone; and his resolution to put himself at the head of the party was communicated in circular letters to the principal of the confederates. At that very moment, when their hearts beat with the confidence of success, their hopes were suddenly dashed to the ground by the mournful intelligence that the two princes for whom they intended to fight were no longer alive.[2]

On what day, or in what manner they perished, was kept a profound secret; the following is the most

[1] Bohun had left two daughters, who divided his property between them. One married Henry IV., the other an ancestor of the duke. When the prosterity of Henry IV. became extinct in Henry VI., Buckingham claimed the share of the second sister; but it was refused by Edward IV. Most writers say that Richard also refused it; but the contrary appears from Dugdale's Baronage, i. 168.

[2] Cont. Croyl. 568.

consistent and probable account, collected from the confession made by the murderers in the next reign. Soon after his departure from London, Richard had tampered in vain with Brakenbury, the governor of the Tower. From Warwick he despatched Sir James Tyrrel, his master of the horse, with orders that he should receive the keys and the command of the fortress during twenty-four hours. In the night Tyrrel, accompanied by Forest, a known assassin, and Dighton, one of his grooms, ascended the staircase leading to the chamber in which the two princes lay asleep. While Tyrrel watched without, Forest and Dighton entered the room, smothered their victims with the bed-clothes, called in their employer to view the dead bodies, and by his orders buried them at the foot of the staircase. In the morning Tyrrel restored the keys to Brakenbury, and rejoined the king before his coronation at York. Aware of the execration to which the knowledge of this black deed must expose him, Richard was anxious that it should not transpire; but when he understood that men had taken up arms to liberate the two princes, he suffered the intelligence of their death to be published, that he might disconcert the plans, and awaken the fears of his enemies.[1]

The intelligence was received with horror both by the friends and the foes of the usurper; but, if it changed the object, it did not dissolve the union of

[1] See More's account of the murder, 67, 68. Objections have been raised against it, but I hope to show that they are of no weight in Note (C) at the end of this volume.—Carte attributes the story of the death of the princes to Buckingham and his friends, as if it were intended to aid the insurrection (iii. 822); from the Croyland historian it is certain that it was published by others, and had at first the effect of disconcerting all their projects.—Cont. Croyl. 568.

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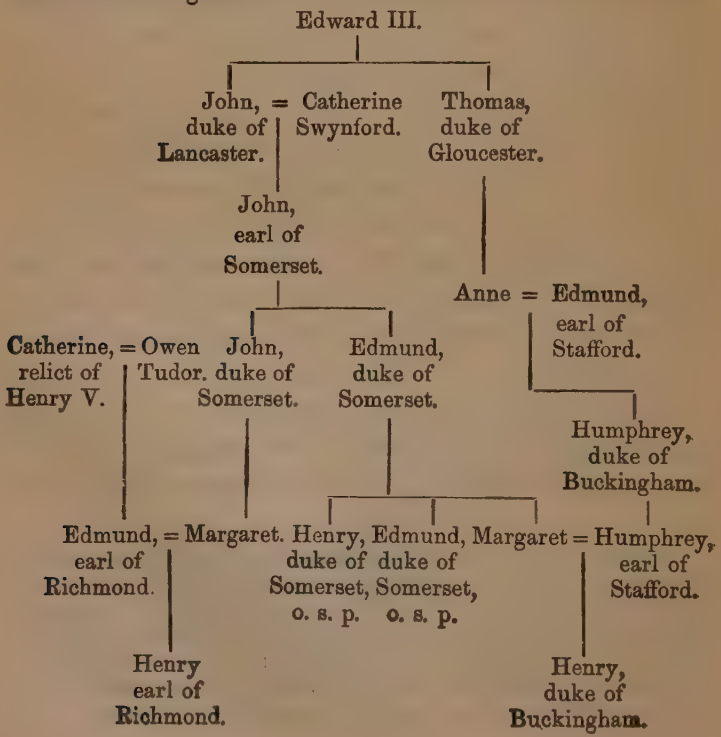
the conspirators. They could not retrace their steps with security; and since the princes for whom they had intended to fight were no longer alive, it became necessary to set up a new competitor in opposition to Richard. The bishop of Ely proposed that the crown should be offered to Henry, the young earl of Richmond, the representative, in right of his mother, of the house of Lancaster,[1] but on the condition that he

[1] If Margaret, countess of Richmond, was the great-grand-daughter of John of Ghent, so was Margaret, countess of Stafford, the mother of Buckingham; but as the father of the former was an elder brother, she was deemed the head of the house of Lancaster, and had married Edmund, earl of Richmond, the son of Queen Catherine by Owen Tudor—Buckingham was descended also from Thomas, duke of Gloucester, sixth son of Edward III. These particulars will be plain from the following table:—



should marry the princess Elizabeth, to whom the claim of the house of York had now devolved; a marriage which, the prelate observed, would unite the partisans of the two families in one common cause, enable them to triumph over the murderer, and put an end to those dissensions which had so long convulsed and depopulated the nation. The suggestion was approved by the queen dowager, the duke of Buckingham, the marquess of Dorset, and most of their friends; the countess of Richmond consented in the name of her son; and a messenger was despatched to Bretagne, to inform the earl of the agreement, to hasten his return to England, and to announce the eighteenth of October as the day fixed for the general rising in his favour.[1]

Sept. 24.

The new plan of the confederates escaped the vigilance of the king, who, ignorant of his danger, proceeded from York into Lincolnshire; but in a fortnight the answer of Henry was received, and was no sooner communicated to his friends than it reached the ears of Richard. To prepare for the contest, he summoned all his adherents to meet him with their retainers at Leicester, proclaimed Buckingham a traitor, and sent for the great seal from London.[2] On the appointed day the rising took place. The marquess of Dorset proclaimed Henry at Exeter; the bishop of Salisbury declared for him in Wiltshire; the gentlemen in Kent met for the same purpose at Maidstone; those of Berkshire at Newberry; and the duke of Buckingham unfurled his standard at Brecon.[3]

Oct. 11.

Oct. 15.

Oct. 18.

Oct. 29.

[1] Cont. Croyl. 568.
[2] Drake Eborac. 119. Rym. xii. 203. Ellis, i. 160
[3] Rot. Parl. vi. 245, 246.

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Five days later, Richard joined his army at Leicester, where he issued a most singular proclamation. He begins by boasting of his zeal for morality and the administration of justice; then calls his enemies "traitors, adulterers, and bawds;" asserts that their object is not only the destruction of the throne, but "the letting of virtue, and the damnable maintenance "of vice;" grants a free pardon to all yeomen and commoners who have been deluded by the false pretensions of the rebels; threatens with the punishment of treason all who shall hereafter lend them assistance; and promises rewards for the apprehension of Buckingham and his associates.[1] But Richard's good fortune served him better than his troops or his proclamations. Had Henry landed, or had the duke been able to join the other insurgents, the reign of the usurper would probably have been terminated. But

Oct. 12.

though Henry had sailed from St. Malo with a fleet of forty sail, the weather was so tempestuous that but few could follow him across the Channel; and when he reached the coast of Devon, the insufficiency of his force forbade him to disembark. Buckingham was still more unfortunate. From Brecon he had marched through the forest of Deane to the Severn; but the bridges were broken down, and the river was so swoln that the fords had become impassable. He turned back to Weobley, the seat of the lord Ferrers; but the Welshmen who had followed him disbanded; and the news of their desertion induced the other bodies of insurgents to provide for their own safety. Thus the king triumphed without drawing the sword. Weobley was narrowly watched on the one side by Sir Humphrey Stafford, on the other by the clan of

[1] Rym. xii. 204.

the Vaughans, who for their reward had received a promise of the plunder of Brecon. Morton effected his escape in disguise to the isle of Ely, and thence passed to the coast of Flanders; the duke in a similar dress reached the hut of Banister, one of his servants in Shropshire, where he was betrayed by the perfidy of his host. If he hoped for pardon on the merit of his former services, he had mistaken the character of Richard. That prince had already reached Salisbury with his army; he refused to see the prisoner, and ordered his head to be immediately struck off in the market-place. From Salisbury he marched into Devonshire. The insurgents dispersed; the marquess of Dorset, and Courtenay, bishop of Exeter, crossed the Channel to the coast of Bretagne; and others found an asylum in the fidelity of their neighbours, and the respect which was still paid to the sanctuaries. Of the prisoners, St. Leger, a knight, had married the duchess of Exeter, the sister of Richard. But it was in vain that the plea of affinity was urged in his favour, and a large sum of money offered for his ransom. By the king's order he suffered with others at Exeter.[1]

Nov 2.

When the conqueror had traversed the southern counties, and by repeated executions punished such of his enemies as fell into his hands, he returned to the capital, and summoned a parliament. This assembly, like those of the last reign in similar circumstances, proved its loyalty by its eagerness to anticipate every wish of the monarch.[2] It adopted and confirmed the

Nov. 11.

[1] Cont. Croyl. 568, 570.

[2] The historian attributes the conduct of the parliament to fear, propter ingentum in constantissimos cadentem mentum.—Cont. Croyl. 570.

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1483.

celebrated petition presented to Richard during his protectorate; pronounced him "undoubted king of "this realm of England, as well by right of con- "sanguinity and inheritance, as by lawful election, "consecration, and coronation;" and entailed the crown on the issue of his body, particularly his son Edward, prince of Wales, whose succession the lords spiritual and temporal bound themselves to uphold. Then followed a bill of attainder, which, though a common measure in these turbulent times, is said to have been severe and comprehensive beyond all precedent. One duke, one marquess, three earls, three bishops, with many knights and gentlemen, were deprived of their estates, honours, and rights. The forfeitures were employed partly to augment the revenue of the crown, partly to remunerate the king's northern adherents, who were thus transplanted into the southern counties, and converted into spies on the disaffection of their neighbours. Among the attainted was the countess of Richmond. But she was spared from execution at the intercession of her husband, the lord Stanley, who had convinced Richard of his own loyalty, and who, on his promise to watch over the conduct of his consort, was permitted to retain the possession of her estates during his life.[1]

As the marriage between Edward IV. and Elizabeth Grey had now been declared null by the approbation given to the petition presented at Baynard's Castle, their son was officially termed "Edward the Bastard, "lately called Edward the Fifth;" his mother was designated Elizabeth, late wife of Sir John Grey, and the letters patent were annulled by which she had been entitled to her dower as queen of England.[2]

[1] Rot. Parl. vi. 240—251. [2] Rym. xii. 259. Rot. Parl. vi. 263.

Still the king was seriously alarmed at the idea of a marriage between the young earl of Richmond and the eldest of her daughters. At the last festival of Christmas, a meeting had been held at Rhedon, in Bretagne, where Henry solemnly swore to make her his queen as soon as he should triumph over the usurper; and the exiles to the number of five hundred had on that condition promised him fealty, and done homage to him as to their sovereign. It was not that Henry of himself could advance any right to the crown. By the father's side he was descended from Owen Tudor and Catherine, the relict of Henry V.; by the mother's from John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, the natural son of John of Ghent by Catherine Swynford. Somerset, indeed, had been legitimated; but the reader is aware that an act of parliament had expressly excluded him and his posterity from the succession to the crown. There were still in Spain and Portugal princes and princesses of the house of Lancaster; but they despised or neglected a disputed title, and the partisans of the family looked up to Henry and his mother as their natural chiefs. Under no circumstances, much less under these, would the lords attached to the house of York have admitted the claim of the earl of Richmond. But convinced of the death of the two sons of Edward, they considered his eldest daughter as rightful sovereign; and the moment Henry bound himself by oath to marry that princess, they swore fealty to him as the future husband of her who was by succession queen of England.

To defeat this project now became the chief policy of Richard. That he might draw the late queen out of the sanctuary, he tempted her with the most flattering promises, and harassed her with the most

1484. March 1.

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1484.

terrible threats. Message after message was interchanged; and at last a private treaty was concluded, in consequence of which he swore, in the presence of several lords and prelates, and the mayor and aldermen, that she and her daughters should be treated by him as his kinswomen; that their lives should be in no danger; that the mother should possess an annuity of seven hundred marks for life; and that each of the daughters should receive lands to the value of two hundred marks as a marriage portion, and be married to none but gentlemen.[1] Induced by these promises, she repaired with her family to court; both mother and daughters were kindly received; and marks of peculiar distinction were lavished upon young Elizabeth, whom Richard had probably destined to be wife of his son Edward. But that prince suddenly expired at Middleham, and the king and his consort were for a time inconsolable on account of their loss.[2] What Richard's designs might now be with respect to Elizabeth were unknown; but she was attached to the company of the queen, and thus kept in real though honourable captivity.

April 9.

At length the king had leisure to direct his attention to Bretagne, where the earl of Richmond and the exiles were busily employed in devising the means of expelling him from the throne. No expense was spared to procure the most accurate information of their numbers and projects; and the useful aid of Landois, the Breton minister, was purchased with valuable presents. The duke Francis listened by degrees to the suggestions of his favourite; an armistice between the two nations prepared the way for

[1] Ellis, 2 ser. i. 149. Buck apud Kennet, p. 528.
[2] Cont. Croyl. 571.

more frequent intercourse; the king raised a body of a thousand archers for the service of his new friend; and a dark plot was framed for the apprehension of Henry and of his principal adherents.[1] They would have been caught in the toils of their wily adversary had they not been warned of their danger, and found a new and safer asylum in the dominions of Charles VIII., king of France, where they employed more than a year in making new preparations for their intended expedition. A.D. 1484

During the interval Richard put an end to the tedious and destructive hostilities between the Scots and his subjects. The duke of Albany and the earl Douglas had received from him the same protection which on a former occasion they had received from his brother; but he was too much occupied with his own concerns to lend them effectual aid; and their efforts were confined to occasional inroads by land, and piratical depredations by sea. During this summer they had attempted to surprise the merchants at the fair of Lochmaben; but were repulsed with considerable loss, and the capture of Douglas and several of his English associates. This disgrace, however, was more than compensated by the success of the English cruisers against the commerce of Scotland; and at the solicitation of James an armistice for three years, and an alliance by marriage between the royal families of the two kingdoms, was concluded at Nottingham. Richard, indeed, after the death of his son, was without legitimate children; but he had declared John, earl of Lincoln, and son of his sister the duchess of Suffolk, heir apparent to the crown; and he now affianced the sister of that young prince, Anne de la

Sept. 21.

[1] Rym. xii. 226, 229. Argentré, xiii. 26.

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1484.

Pole, to the eldest son of the king of Scotland. It was mutually stipulated that the marriage should take place as soon as the parties had arrived at the age of puberty.[1]

At Christmas the king kept his court in the palace of Westminter. Whether it were from policy or inclination, he affected extraordinary magnificence; the holidays were passed in a constant repetition of feasting, balls, and amusements; and it was remarked with surprise that in every company his niece Elizabeth appeared in robes exactly similar to those worn by the queen consort. Before men could discover the cause of this unusual arrangement, the latter suddenly fell sick; and Richard, in expectation of her death, offered his hand to his niece. Her mother is said not to have disapproved of the unnatural union, but to have written to her son, the marquess of Dorset, at Paris, and to have ordered him to retire from the councils of Henry. The princess herself, in a letter which she wrote to the duke of Norfolk, showed how much she was dazzled with the splendours of royalty. She solicited the good offices of that nobleman in her favour, protested that the king was "her joy and "maker in this world, and that she was his in heart "and thought," and hinted her surprise at the duration of the queen's illness, and her apprehensions, "that she would never die."[2] These apprehensions, however, were soon quieted; in less than a month the queen expired; and Elizabeth was flattered with the idea of mounting the throne, Richard with the pro-

1485. Feb.

March 16.

[1] Rym. xii. 235—246. Rouse informs us that the young earl of Warwick, the son of the late duke of Clarence, was treated at first as heir apparent; but that after some time he was removed, put into close custody, and the young earl of Lincoln substituted for him (p. 218).

[2] See Buck, p. 568.

spect of disconcerting by this marriage the machinations of his rival. But when the king communicated the plan to Ratcliffe, and to Catesby, "knight and "esquire of the body," both confidants by whose advice he was generally ruled, he experienced an unexpected and most obstinate opposition. Their objection perhaps arose, as the historian surmises, from a well-grounded apprehension, that if Elizabeth should become queen, she would revenge on them the murder of her uncle and brother at Pontefract; but their arguments, whatever were their secret motives, deserved the most serious attention of their master. They represented to him that this incestuous marriage would be an object of horror to the people, and would be condemned by the clergy; that suspicions were already entertained of his having removed the queen by poison to make room for the niece;[1] that to marry her in the present circumstances would convert such suspicions into a certainty, and would in consequence deprive him of his stanchest adherents, the men of the northern counties, for whose support he had been hitherto indebted to the respect which they bore to his late consort, as daughter of the great earl of Warwick. The king, though with considerable reluctance, yielded to their remonstrances. In the great hall of the Temple he assured the mayor, aldermen, and commoners, that no such mariage had ever been contemplated; and by a letter to the citizens of York, required them to refuse credit to the slanderous tales which had been circulated, and to apprehend

April 11

[1] From the expressions in Elizabeth's letter mentioned before, there is reason to fear that this suspicion was too true. It is evident Richard had not only promised to marry her, but had told her that the queen would die in February. Hence she observes that the better part of February is past, and the queen still alive.—Buck, p. 568.

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1485.

and bring before the council all persons known to advance or propagate reports to his prejudice.[1]

As the time approached, in which the contest for the crown was to be decided, the mind of Richard became the prey of doubts and apprehensions. It may be that the disturbed rest, the imaginary spectres, and the sudden terrors described by Sir Thomas More, were the fictions of his enemies;[2] but, unfurnished as he was with money, and suspicious of his adherents, he could not look forward to a contest, in which his crown and life were at stake, without feeling considerable alarm. The treasures left by his brother, the moneys arising from the late forfeitures, and three tenths obtained from the clergy, had all been expended. He dared not summon a parliament for the purpose of demanding a subsidy; and to solicit a benevolence he had already pronounced illegal and unconstitutional. Yet his necessities compelled him to adopt the thing, while he refused it the name; and though by extorting different sums from the most wealthy citizens, he replenished his coffers, he for-

[1] See the whole account in the Croyland historian, 572. The letter to the citizens of York is in Drake's Eboracum (p. 119). That writer supposes it to have been written in 1484. But as it alludes to the reports about the marriage, and observes that the king had already explained matters to the citizens of London, which the Croyland historian says he did some time before Easter, I have no difficulty in fixing it to the present year.

[2] "I have heard by credible report of such as were secret with "his chamberers, that he never had quiet in his mind, never thought "himself sure. When he went abroad, his eyes whirled about, his "body privily fenced, his hand ever on his dagger, his countenance "and manner like one always ready to strike again. He took ill "rests at night, lay long waking and musing, sore wearied with care "and watch, rather slumbered than slept, troubled with fearful "dreams, suddenly sometimes started up, leapt out of bed, and run "about the chamber; so was his restless heart continually tossed "and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormy remembrance "of this abominable deed.—More, 69.

feited at the same time the small share which he retained in their affection.[1] He no longer knew whom to trust or distrust. Daily defections taught him to suspect the fidelity of the most attached among his adherents. Sir Walter Blount, the governor of Ham, deserted to Henry with his prisoner, the old earl of Oxford; several officers of the garrison of Calais, and the sheriffs of some counties, followed their example; and numerous emigrations from the coast doubled the amount of the exiles. But no one gave him more anxiety than Lord Stanley, a nobleman of extensive influence in Cheshire and Lancashire. On the one hand, he had hitherto served Richard with unwearied zeal; on the other, he had married the mother of the pretender to the crown. To attach him the more firmly to the royal interests, the king had lavished favours upon him; but at the same time, to keep him always under his own eye, he had made him steward of the household. When at last Lord Stanley urged his former service to obtain permission to visit his estates, Richard consented with reluctance, but retained at court the lord Strange as an hostage for the fidelity of his father.[2]

At length the king was informed by his emissaries that the earl of Richmond, with the permission of Charles, had raised an army of three thousand adventurers, most of them Normans; and that a fleet was lying in the mouth of the Seine to transport them to England. He affected to receive the intelligence with joy; and immediately, to prepare the public for the event, published a long and artful proclamation, June 23.

[1] As the king would not allow the name of benevolence to be applied to this extortion, the people gave to it that of malevolence.—Cont. Croyl. 572.

[2] Cont. Croyl. 573.

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1485.

which stated that "the king's rebels and traitors, disabled and attainted by authority of the high court of parliament, of whom many were known for open murderers, adulterers, and extortioners, had forsaken their natural country, and put themselves at first under the obedience of the duke of Bretagne, to whom they had made promises so unnatural and abominable that they had been refused by that prince —that they had next betaken themselves to the king's ancient enemy, Charles, calling himself king of France, and chosen for their captain one Henry Tudor, descended of bastard blood both by the father's and the mother's side, and who therefore could never have any claim to the crown of England but by conquest—that the said Henry Tudor, in order that he might achieve his false intent by the aid of the king's ancient enemy of France, had covenanted with him to give up in perpetuity all the right which the king of England had to the crown of France, to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Guienne, Calais, and the marches, and to dissever the arms of France from the arms of England for ever—that in more proof of his said purpose of conquest, the said Henry Tudor had given away archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other dignities spiritual, and the duchies, earldoms, baronies, and other inheritances of knights, esquires, and gentlemen, within the realm —that he intended to change and subvert the laws of the same, and to do the most cruel murders, slaughters, robberies, and disherisons, that were ever seen in any Christian realm—wherefore, the king willed that all his subjects, like good and true Englishmen, should endower themselves with all their power for the defence of them, their wives,

"children, goods, and hereditaments, and as he, like "a diligent and courageous prince, would put his "most royal person to all labour and pain necessary "in that behalf, to the comfort and surety of his "faithful subjects, so he commanded all his said sub-"jects to be ready in their most defensible array to "do his highness service of war, when they by open "proclamation or otherwise should be commanded so "to do, for the resistance of the king's said rebels, "traitors, and enemies."[1] CHAP. IV. A.D. 1485.

Having issued instructions to his friends in the maritime counties, and established posts of cavalry on the high roads for the more speedy transmission of intelligence, Richard sent for the great seal, and fixed his head-quarters at Nottingham. There he was nearer to his partisans in the north, on whose fidelity he chiefly relied; and thence, as from the centre, he could watch the extremities of the kingdom. On the first of August his competitor sailed from Harfleur; on the seventh he landed at Milford Haven, and directed his march through the northern districts of Wales, a tract of country in the interests of the Stanleys. He met with little to oppose or to encourage him; if the Welsh chieftains did not impede his progress, few joined his standard; and when he took possession of Shrewsbury his army did not exceed four thousand men. A week elapsed before Richard heard of his landing; but orders were instantly despatched for all his subjects to meet him at July 24. Aug 1. Aug. 7.

[1] Fenn, ii. 318—326. I have abridged the proclamation, but have, as much as possible, retained the very words, that the reader may notice how near the language approaches to that of the present day. It is dated 23rd of June anno 2; which Fenn has made 1484: but as Richard did not begin his reign till the 26th of that month, it should be 1485.

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1485.

Leicester, with the most alarming menaces against the defaulters. The duke of Norfolk obeyed with the men of the eastern counties, the earl of Northumberland with the northern levies, the lord Lovet from Hampshire, and Brakenbury from London; but the man whom he most feared, the lord Stanley, replied that he was confined to his bed by the sweating sickness. This feint could not deceive the king; and Lord Strange, fearing for his life, made an attempt to escape. He was discovered, taken, and induced to confess, that he himself, his uncle Sir William Stanley, chamberlain of North Wales, and St. John Savage, had engaged to join the invader; but he protested that his father was ignorant of their intention, and already on his way to join the royal standard. He was permitted to write to Lord Stanley, and to inform him that he must accelerate his march, if he wished to save the life of his son.[1]

Aug. 20.

At Leicester the king found himself at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, which, had it been attached to its leader, might have trampled under foot the contemptible force that followed the banner of his competitor. But Henry, assured by the promises of his secret adherents, continued to press forward, as if he were determined to rush into the very jaws of destruction. He crossed the Severn at Shrewsbury; at Newport he was joined by the tenantry of the Talbots; at Stafford he had a private conference with Sir William Stanley; and consented, in order to save, if it were possible, the life of Lord Strange, that the Stanleys should continue to wear the appearance of hostility, and constantly retire before

Aug. 21.

him, as he advanced. On the twenty-first of August

[1] Cont. Croyl. 573.

Richard rode from Leicester with the crown on his head, and encamped about two miles from the town of Bosworth. The same night Henry proceeded from Tamworth to Atherston, where he joined the Stanleys, and was encouraged by the repeated arrivals of deserters from the enemy. In the morning both armies (that of Richard was double in number) advanced to Redmore; and the vanguards, commanded by the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Oxford, engaged. Richard was dismayed to see the Stanleys opposed to him, the earl of Northumberland remaining inactive at his post, and his men wavering and on the point of flying, or going over to his competitor. Chancing to espy Henry, he determined to win the day, or perish in the attempt. Spurring his horse and exclaiming, "Treason, treason, treason,"[1] he slew with his own hand Sir William Brandon, the bearer of the hostile standard, struck to the ground Sir John Cheney, and made a desperate blow at his rival, when he was overpowered by numbers, thrown from his horse, and immediately slain. Lord Stanley taking up the crown, placed it on the head of Henry, and the conqueror was instantly greeted with the shouts of "Long live King Henry." In the battle and pursuit the duke of Norfolk, the lord Ferrers, some knights, and about three thousand others were killed. The victors lost but few; and to add to their joy, Lord Strange, whom Richard had ordered to be beheaded at the beginning of the battle, escaped in the confusion, and rejoined his father. The body of the late king was stript, laid across a horse behind a pursuivant at arms, and conducted to Leicester, where, after it had been exposed for two days, it was buried

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1485.

Aug. 22.

[1] Ross, 218.

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with little ceremony in the church of the Grey Friars.[1] Henry entered the town with the same royal state with which Richard had marched out on the preceding day. He was careful, however, not to stain his triumph with blood. Of all his prisoners three only suffered death, the notorious Catesby, and two persons of the name of Brecher, who probably had merited that distinction by their crimes.[2]

Of the character of Richard it is unnecessary to say much. If he was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, he was little better than a monster in human shape. Writers have indeed existed in modern times who have attempted to prove his innocence; but their arguments are rather ingenious than conclusive, and dwindle into groundless conjectures when confronted with the evidence which may be arrayed against them.[3]

[1] Ten years later, Henry caused a tomb to be erected over him. The cost was only 10*l.* 1*s.*—Excerp. Hist. 105. It was defaced at the dissolution of the convent.—Sandford, 432.

[2] Cont. Croyl. 573—575. Ross, 218. Fab. 520.

[3] See Note (C) at the end of the volume.

CHAPTER V.

HENRY VII.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emp. of Germ.	*K. of Scotland.*	*K. of France.*	*Sov. of Spain.*
Frederic III. 1493	James III. 1487	Charles VIII. 1498	Isabella 1504.
Maximilian	James IV.	Louis XII.	Ferdinand.

Popes.

Innocent VIII., 1492. Alexander VI., 1503. Pius III., 1503. Julius II.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT—THE KING'S MARRIAGE—INSURRECTION IN FAVOUR OF A PRETENDED EARL OF WARWICK—CORONATION OF THE QUEEN—WAR IN BRETAGNE—IMPOSTURE OF PERKIN WARBECK—HE IS EXECUTED—ALSO THE EARL OF WARWICK—TREATIES WITH FRANCE—WITH SCOTLAND—WITH SPAIN—MARRIAGE AND DEATH OF PRINCE ARTHUR—HENRY'S RAPACITY—HIS ILLNESS AND DEATH—HIS CHARACTER.

THE long quarrel between the two houses of York and Lancaster had deluged England with blood; by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, it was given to Henry of Richmond, an exile and an adventurer, without means and without title, to unite the interests of the "two roses," and to bequeath to posterity the benefit of an undisputed succession. From the field of Bosworth he proceeded to Leicester. Victory had placed the crown on his temples; and the absence of a rival secured to him the present possession of the

CHAP. V. A.D. 1485.

sovereignty. But a perplexing question occurred; on what title was he to ground his claim? On that of hereditary descent? The right of hereditary descent, even supposing it to be in the family of Lancaster, and not of York, could not be propagated through an illegitimate branch, which to prevent dispute, had been originally cut off from the succession by an act of parliament. Should he then depend on his stipulated marriage with the princess Elizabeth? But his pride disdained to owe the sceptre to a wife, the representative of a rival and hated family. That would be to justify the dethronement of Henry VI., to acknowledge himself a king only by courtesy, and to exclude his issue by any succeeding marriage from all claim to the throne. There remained the right of conquest; but, though he might appeal to his late victory as an argument that Heaven approved of his pretensions,[1] he dared not mention the name of conquest, or he would have united his friends with his foes in a common league against him.[2] The question became the subject of long and anxious deliberation; and it was at last resolved to follow a line of proceeding, which, while it settled the crown on the king and his heirs general, should not bring either his right, or that of the princess, into discussion.[3]

[1] It was the common persuasion at the time, that, as in private duels, so in battles, the event showed the right of the victorious party. Henry alluded to it in parliament.—Rot. Parl. vi. 268. And the same doctrine had been openly maintained by Edward IV. "In division "and contraversie moved betwyxt princes uppon the high soveraigne "power roiell, more evident prove or declaration of trouth, right "and Godds will may not be had than by the means of reason, "auctorite, and victorie in batailles."—Rym. xi. 710.

[2] Because it was taught that a conqueror might dispossess all men of their lands, since they held them of the prince who had been conquered.

[3] Bacon, 2—4.

The reader has seen that Richard before his fall had named his nephew, John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, to be his successor. Him and his pretensions Henry treated with contempt; but there was another prince, Edward Plantagenet, son of the late duke of Clarence, whom he viewed with peculiar jealousy. After the execution of Clarence, Edward IV. had sent for the child to court, and had created him earl of Warwick, the title borne by his grandfather. Even Richard, when his own son was dead, had at first assigned to him the honours of the heir-apparent; but afterwards, fearing that he might become a dangerous competitor, had confined him in the castle of Sheriff-Hutton in Yorkshire. The first act of the new king at Leicester was to transfer the young prince, who had only reached his fifteenth year, from his prison in the north to a place of greater security, the Tower. The public commiserated the lot of the innocent victim, who thus, to satisfy the ambition of others, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment from his childhood; and the spot chosen for his confinement, a spot so lately stained with the blood of princes, was considered an omen of his subsequent destiny. The princess Elizabeth had been his fellow-captive at Sheriff-Hutton. Richard had sent her there as soon as he heard of the invasion; Henry ordered her to be conducted by several noblemen to the house of her mother in London.[1]

The fall of the usurper excited little regret. No man could pity his death, who had pitied the fate of his unoffending nephews. When the conqueror entered the capital, he was received with unequivocal demonstrations of joy. The mayor and principal

August 28.

[1] Bacon, 1. Polyd. 558.

CHAP V. A.D. 1485.

citizens met him at Hornsey Park, and were permitted to kiss his hand. As he passed through the streets in a close carriage, the crowd obstructed his way, that they might behold and greet the deliverer of his country.[1] Before him were borne the ensigns of his triumph, the three standards which had led his small army to victory, and these he devoutly offered on the high altar of St. Paul's.[2] But his coronation was delayed, and the joy of the public was damped, by the sudden spread of a disease, which acquired from its predominant symptoms the appellation of the sweating sickness. It generally extinguished life within the course of twenty-four hours; and some idea may be formed of its ravages, when it is known that within eight days it proved fatal to two successive lord mayors, and six of the aldermen of London. At the end of the month, whether it were owing to the greater experience of the physicians, or the coldness

Oct. 30

of the season, its violence began to abate,[3] and the new king received the rite of coronation from the hands of the cardinal archbishop of Canterbury. On that occasion twelve knights bannerets were created, and the king's uncle, the earl of Pembroke, was raised to the dignity of duke of Bedford, the lord Stanley to that of earl of Derby, and Sir Edward Courtenay

[1] André, who was present, and recited verses in his honour.—Domit. A. xviii.

[2] These standards were an "ymage of Sainte George, a red firye "dragon and a done kowe."—Hall, i.

[3] After the loss of many lives, it was discovered, that if the patient lay still for twenty-four hours, and carefully abstained from whatever might add to the heat, or induce cold, he generally recovered. By this method the mortality was much diminished, when the same disease re-appeared in England, though it still proved fatal to thousands in Flanders and Germany.—Hall, 3, 4. Bacon, 6. Polyd. 561.

to that of earl of Devon.[1] At the same time he appointed a body of select archers, amounting to fifty men, to attend on him, under the appellation of yeomen of the guard. The institution excited surprise; but Henry justified it on the ground that by foreign princes a guard was considered a necessary appendage to the regal dignity.[2]

Nov. 7

Soon after the coronation, the king met his parliament; and when the commons presented to him their speaker, was careful to inform them, that "he had "come to the throne by just title of inheritance, and "by the sure judgment of God, who had given him "the victory over his enemy in the field:" but, lest they should be alarmed by the last words, he added that every man should continue "to enjoy his rights "and hereditaments, with the exception of such per-"sons as in the present parliament should be punished "for their offences against his royal majesty."[3] When the commons returned to their own house, an unexpected difficulty arose. A large proportion of the members had been outlawed by the last monarch. Could they sit there in quality of lawgivers? Even the king, who had summoned them together, had been attainted. Was that attainder to continue unrepealed? Henry was displeased with the boldness of

[1] Cont. Croyl. 557. Bacon, 6. Hall, 3. Mr. Jerdan has published in the Rutland Papers (1—24), "The device for the corona-"tion of Henry VII." It bears proof of having been written but a day or two before that ceremony took place, and yet very strangely mixes up with it directions for the coronation of the queen, as well as of the king. It appears to me that the writer copied some more ancient ceremonial, probably that of the coronation of Richard III. and his consort. He could not have supposed that Elizabeth of York would be crowned with Henry, before she was even married to him.

[2] Hall, 3

[3] Rot. Parl. vi. 268.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1485.

these questions; but dissembling his resentment, he consulted the judges, who replied that as far as regarded the king himself, the crown had cleared away all legal corruption of blood; but that the members attainted by course of law must forbear to sit till their attainder had been reversed by equal authority. The advice was followed; all who had been disinherited by Richard were by one act restored to their former rights; and separate bills were passed in favour of the king's mother, the dukes of Bedford, Buckingham, and Somerset, the marquess of Dorset, the earl of Oxford, the lords Beaumont, Wells, Clifford, Hungerford, Roos, and several others. The whole number of those who profited by this measure amounted to one hundred and seven.[1] The transactions which followed were important and interesting. 1. In the settlement of the crown by legislative enactment, Henry proceeded with cautious and measured steps. Jealous as he was of the pretended right of the house of Lancaster, he was equally sensible that the claim of the princess Elizabeth would prove the firmest support of his throne. Hence he watched all the proceedings with the most scrupulous solicitude. To weaken her claim would be to undermine his own interest; to confirm it would encourage a suspicion that he was conscious of a defect in his own title. He therefore refused both to revive the act of Henry IV., which established the succession in the line of John of Ghent, and to repeal that of Edward IV., which established it in the line of Lionel duke of Clarence. In his own favour he commanded that all records, containing any mention of his attainder, should be

[1] Rot. Parl. vi. 273, 278, 280—287. Year-book, Term Mich. 1 Henry VII. 5. Bacon, 8.

cancelled and taken off the file;[1] in favour of his Lancastrian predecessors, he annulled the act of Edward IV., which had pronounced Henry IV. and Henry V. usurpers, Henry VI. an usurper and traitor, Margaret and Edward, the wife and son of that monarch, traitors, and all the heirs of the body of Henry of Derby incapable of holding or inheriting any estate, dignity, pre-eminence, hereditament, or possession within the realm;[2] and in favour of Elizabeth he repealed the act of the 1st of Richard III., by which that princess had been pronounced a bastard, in common with the rest of her father's children by Elizabeth Grey. Out of respect for her who was to be queen, neither the title nor the body of the act was read in either house. By advice of the judges it was merely designated by the first words; the original was then ordered to be burnt; and all persons possessed of copies were commanded to deliver them to the chancellor before Easter, under the penalty of fine and imprisonment.[3] In the act of settlement itself no mention was made of Elizabeth or her heirs; even

[1] Bacon, 9.

[2] Rot. Parl. vi. 288. An act was also passedrestoring Elizabeth, the widow of Edward IV., to the same title and dignity as she would have had if no act had passed against her under Richard III., and rendering her able to plead, and be impleaded, and to receive and grant lands and chattels. But it does not appear that her dower was restored.—Ibid.

[3] Ibid. 289. Year-book, Term Hil. 1 Henry VII. 5. Stillington, bishop of Bath, who had composed the petition and act now repealed, had been apprehended by order of the king immediately after the battle of Bosworth. We find him soon afterwards a prisoner at York, "sore crased by reason of his trouble and carrying." —Drake's Eborac. 123. He however made his peace with Henry, was not included in the act of attainder, and obtained a full pardon. On this account Henry opposed a motion to call him before the house of lords for his conduct in composing the petition and act of bastardy of Edward's children.—Year-book, ibid.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1485.

Henry's own claim, which he so ostentatiously brought forward in his speech to the commons, "of his just "right of inheritance, and the sure judgment of God," was studiously omitted; and it was merely enacted, that "the inheritance of the crown should be, rest, "remain, and abide in the most royal person of the "then sovereign lord, King Henry VII., and the "heirs of his body lawfully coming, perpetually with "the grace of God so to endure, and in none other."[1] 2. But this cautious policy, and in particular this silence with respect to the princess, seems to have alarmed not only the partisans of the house of York, but even Henry's own friends, who had trusted that under the union of the red and white roses domestic peace would succeed to war and dissension. When the commons presented to the king the usual grant of tonnage and poundage for life, they coupled with it a petition, that he would be pleased to "take to wife "and consort the princess Elizabeth, which marriage Dec. 10. "they hoped God would bless with a progeny of the "*race* of *kings*;"[2] the lords spiritual and temporal, rising from their seats, and bowing to the throne, signified their concurrence; and Henry graciously answered that he was willing to comply with their request.[3] 3. At the very commencement of the session the king had alluded to "punishment of those

[1] Rot. Parl. vi. 270. While this bill was before the lords, the chancellor assembled all the judges, and required their opinion, whether such an act, if it were passed, would have the effect "of "resuming all the franchises and liberties of all manner of persons." It seems to have been apprehended that the new settlement might have had the same effect as the acquisition of the crown by conquest. The judges replied in the negative.—Year-book, Term Hil. 1 Henry VII. 25.

[2] De stirpe regum.—Rot. Parl. vi. 278. By this unusual expression I conceive was meant the kings of each line. [3] Ibid.

"who had offended his royal majesty." The expression was noticed; how, it was asked, could the late monarch and his supporters have offended the *majesty* of the earl of Richmond, at the time when he had never publicly advanced any claim to the throne? The case differed from the precedents of the past reigns. If Henry VI. and his friends had been pronounced traitors by Edward, and Edward and his adherents by Henry, on each occasion the supposed offence had been committed against a king, whose claim to the crown had been previously admitted by parliament.[1] But the treasury was exhausted; Henry wanted the means to defray his expenses, and to reward his followers; and in defiance of the murmurs of the people, Richard III., the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, the lords Lovell, Zouch, and Ferrers, with several knights and gentlemen, amounting in all to thirty individuals, were included in an act of attainder.[2] 4. The act of resumption which followed was less invidious, and equally politic. Treading in the footsteps of former monarchs, the king revoked all grants made by the crown since the 34th of Henry VI., and as the grantees were chiefly the partisans of the house of York, they were all placed at the mercy of the king, who, according to his judgment or caprice, had it in his power to take from them, or to confirm to them, the possession of their property.[3] 5. Before he dissolved the parliament, he granted a general

[1] Cont. Croyl. 581.

[2] Rot. Parl. vi. 275—278. In the act Richard is accused of 'unnaturall, mischevous, and grete perjuries, treasons, homicides, 'and *murdres in shedding of infants blood.*" Is not this an allusion to the death of his nephews? I know of no other infants whom he is said to have murdered.

[3] Rot. Parl. vi. 336—384.

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pardon to the adherents of Richard; but that he might monopolize the whole merit of the measure, he would not allow it to originate at the intercession, or to be issued with the concurrence, of the two houses.[1] 6. During the recess after Christmas he married Elizabeth.[2] It was believed that the delay arose from a desire to prevent her name from being inserted in the act of settlement. When that point had been obtained, he hastened to gratify the wishes of his people and parliament. If the ambition of the princess was flattered by this union, we are told (on what authority I know not) that she had little reason to congratulate herself on the score of domestic happiness; that Henry treated her with harshness and with neglect; and that in his estimation neither the beauty of her person, nor the sweetness of her disposition, could atone for the deadly crime of being a descendant of the house of York.[3]

1486. Jan. 18.

As the king and queen were relatives, a dispensation had been granted previously to the marriage by the bishop of Imola, the legate of Innocent VIII. But Henry applied for another to the pontiff himself, avowedly for the purpose of removing every doubt respecting the validity of the marriage, but in reality that by introducing into it the meaning which he affixed to the act of settlement, that meaning might have the sanction of the papal authority. Innocent

[1] Bacon, 9.

[2] Cont. Croyl. 581. André tells us that Edward IV. had before offered Elizabeth to Henry during his exile in Bretagne, but that it was considered an artifice to entice him into England.—Domit. A. xviii.

[3] This is asserted by all our historians. The reader will meet hereafter with some reasons to induce a belief, that the statement, if it be true, must at least be confined to the first years of the king's reign.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1486. March 27.

in his rescript informs us that, according to the representation made to him in the name of the king, the crown of England belonged to Henry by right of war, by notorious and indisputable hereditary succession, by the wish and election of all the prelates, nobles, and commons of the realm, and by the act of the three estates in parliament assembled; but that nevertheless, to put an end to the bloody wars caused by the rival claims of the house of York, and at the urgent request of the three estates, the king had consented to marry the princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter and true heir of Edward IV. of immortal memory.[1] The pontiff, therefore, at the prayer of the king, and to preserve the tranquillity of the realm, confirms the dispensation which has already been granted, and the act of settlement passed by the parliament; declares the meaning of that act to be, that if the queen should die without issue before the king, or if her issue should not survive their father, the crown should in that case devolve to Henry's other children, if he should have any other by a subsequent marriage, and concludes by excommunicating all those who may hereafter attempt to disturb him or his posterity in the possession of their rights.[2] The existence of this extraordinary instrument betrays the king's uneasiness with respect to the insufficiency of his own claim.

After his marriage and the dissolution of the par-

[1] Immortalis famæ regis Edvardi præfati primogenitam et veram hæredem.—Rym. xii. 297. Carte by some mistake has translated these words "the true heiress of *the kingdom*" (ii. 825). The reader may notice the expression vera hæres, and in another instrument indubitata hæres.—Rym. xii. 294. If the pontiff believed Elizabeth to be the true and undoubted heir to her father, he must also have been informed that her brothers had perished.

[2] Rym. ibid.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1486.

liament, the new monarch, in imitation of his predecessors, resolved to signalize the commencement of his reign by a progress through the kingdom. The natives of the northern counties had been much devoted to Richard; Henry hoped by spending the summer among them to attach them to his interests. He was keeping the festival of Easter at Lincoln, when he heard that lord Lovell, formerly chamberlain to Richard, with Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, had suddenly left the sanctuary at Colchester; but whither they were fled, or what might be their object, remained a profound secret. Despising the information, he left Lincoln for Nottingham, with a numerous and splendid retinue; from Nottingham, where he received an embassy from the king of Scots, he continued his journey; but was stopped at Pontefract by the intelligence that lord Lovell had passed him on the road, had raised a force in the neighbourhood of Rippon and Middleham, and was preparing to surprise him at his entry into York. But Henry's court was now attended by most of the southern and northern nobility; and their followers formed a pretty numerous army. The duke of Bedford led the royalists; by his order an offer of pardon was made to all who should return to their duty; and the insurgent force immediately dispersed. A few were taken and executed by the earl of Northumberland: Lovell himself escaped to his friend Sir Thomas Broughton in Lancashire, and thence to the court of Margaret, dowager duchess of Burgundy.[1] At the same time the Staffords had pre-

April 2.

April 6.

April 17.

[1] Hall, 3, Bacon, 11, and others tell us that Lovell's attempt happened after Henry's arrival at York, and was put down by the duke of Bedford. I have followed the journal of one of the heralds who accompanied the court.—Lel. Coll. iv. 186.

pared to take possession of the city of Worcester; but the dispersion of the Yorkshire insurgents proved the hopelessness of the attempt; and the two brothers fled for sanctuary to the church of Colnham, an obscure village near Abingdon. Humphrey Stafford was taken thence by force; was condemned by the judges in virtue of the act of attainder formerly passed against him, and suffered at Tyburn the death of a traitor. It is said that the younger brother obtained a pardon, on the plea that he had acted under the control of the elder.[1] A.D. 1486.

The king made his entry into York with royal magnificence. Three miles from the city he was met by the mayor and Aldermen on horseback; at the gate he was received with a procession of the clergy, the acclamations of the populace, and the exhibition of pageants.[2] He spent three weeks in that city, dispensing favours, conferring honours, and redressing grievances; a conduct, the policy of which was proved by the loyalty of the country during the invasion of the following year.[3] Thence he returned through Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, and Bristol, to Lon- April 20. May 2c

[1] The prisoner had been brought to Worcester to suffer there (May 20), but the abbot of Abingdon arrived on the same day, and required that he should be replaced in the sanctuary. This saved his life for the time. He was sent to the Tower, and the judges were consulted by the king, whether Colnham had the privilege of a sanctuary. They replied it was hard, and contrary to order, that they should give their opinions beforehand on a matter on which they would have to decide judicially. Henry assented with reluctance; the point was argued before all the judges; and the claim of sanctuary was rejected.—Year-book, Term. Pas. 1 Henry VII. 15 Term; Trin. 1.

[2] The people cried, "King Henry, King Henry, our Lord preserve that sweet and well-savoured face."—Lel. Coll. iv. 187. Ibid. 188.

[3] He diminished the yearly rent of 160*l.* paid by the citizens of York to the crown to the small sum of 18*l.* 5*s.*—Rot. Parl. vi. 390.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1486. June 5.

don, to receive a numerous and splendid embassy sent by James, king of Scotland. During his progress through each county, he was accompanied by the sheriffs, and the resident nobility and gentry; on all Sundays and festivals he attended divine service in public; and on such occasions he heard a sermon from one of the bishops, who was ordered to read and explain to the audience the papal bull confirmatory of the king's marriage and title. He left the citizens of Worcester with evident marks of displeasure; but by his condescension attached to himself those of Bristol, whom he consulted on the causes of the decay of their trade, and at the same time encouraged by his promise to restore their city to its former prosperity.[1]

To a prince in Henry's situation it was of the highest importance to live on terms of amity with his neighbours. Among these the most to be feared was James, king of Scotland, from his proximity, from the ancient enmity between the two nations, and from that attachment to the house of York, which still lurked among the inhabitants of the northern counties. Fortunately James had long cherished a strong partiality for the English; a partiality so marked, that it formed the principal of the charges alleged against him by the rebels, who afterwards deprived him of life. He had sent a deputation to assist at the coronation of Henry; other envoys had met the king at Nottingham; and now a most honourable embassy awaited his arrival in London. The negotiation lasted almost a month. As the former truce between the two crowns was supposed to have expired at the death of Richard, both kings readily consented to its re-

[1] See the sequel of the heralds' journal.—Rot. Parl. vi. 390.

newal. But the turbulence and discontent of the Scottish nobility compelled James to limit its duration to three years; and Henry could only obtain a promise that it should be continued till the death of one of the two monarchs, and that a matrimonial alliance should be contracted between the royal families of England and Scotland.[1] July 3.

It might have been expected that the king would have taken his queen with him during his progress, to gratify the partisans of the house of York; it was supposed that he refused through his jealousy of her influence, and his unwillingness to seem indebted to her for his crown. She kept her court at Winchester with her mother and sisters, and the countess of Richmond, her mother-in-law. As she advanced in her pregnancy, the king removed from London to hunt in the New Forest; and in her eighth month she was safely delivered of a son, whose birth gave equal joy to the king and the nation. He was christened with extraordinary parade in the cathedral; and at the font received the name of Arthur, in memory of the celebrated king of the Britons, from whom Henry wished it to be thought that he was himself descended.[2] Sept. 20.

[1] Rym. xii. 290.

[2] Lel. Coll. iv. 204. On this occasion the king's mother made "ordinaunces as to what preparation is to be made against the "deliveraunce of a queen, as also for the christening of the child, "when she shall be delivered." They descend to every particular "of the furniture of her highnesses chamber, and the furniture ap-"pertayning to her bedde, how the churche shall be arraied againste "the christeninge, how the child shall go to be christened;" the length and breadth of the cradle "to be faire set forth by painters "crafte," and the dimensions of another cradle of state, which is to be much larger than the other, and to be furnished with "greate "magnificence, like as the prince or princesse herselfe were lyinge "therein."—Ibid. 179—184. The ceremony of the christening of Arthur is afterwards described (204—207). I observe that the queen dowager was godmother, and that her daughter Cecily, at-

CHAP. V. A.D. 1486.

Hitherto the king's enemies had given him little uneasiness; but the birth of his son, which threatened to perpetuate the crown in his family, urged them to one of the most extraordinary attempts recorded in history. First a report was spread that the young earl of Warwick had perished in the Tower; soon afterwards one Richard Simons, a priest of Oxford, entirely unknown in Ireland, landed at Dublin with a boy about fifteen years of age, presented his ward to the earl of Kildare, the lord deputy, under the name of Edward Plantagenet, the very earl so lately reported to have been murdered, and implored the protection of that nobleman for a young and innocent prince, who, by escaping from the Tower, had avoided the fate similar to that of his unfortunate cousins, the sons of Edward IV. The boy—he was the son of Thomas Simnel, a joiner at Oxford[1]—had been well instructed in the part which he had to perform. His person was handsome; his address had something in it which seemed to bespeak nobility of descent and he could relate with apparent accuracy his adventures at Sheriff-Hutton, in the Tower, and during his escape. But why he should be seduced to personate a prince who was still living, and who might any day be confronted with him, is a mystery difficult to unravel. Of the reasons which have been assigned, the least improbable is that which supposes that the framers of the plot designed, if it succeeded, to place the real Warwick on the throne; but that, sensible how much they should endanger his life if they were to proclaim him while he was in the Tower, they set

tended by Anne, another of her daughters, carried the child; a proof that the queen's family was at this period in high favour with the king.

[1] Rot. Parl. vi. 397.

up a counterfeit Warwick, and by this contrivance made it the interest of Henry to preserve the true one.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1486.

Among the English settlers in Ireland the partisans of the house of York had maintained a decided ascendency ever since the administration of duke Richard in the reign of Henry VI. The Butlers alone had dared to unsheath the sword in favour of the Lancastrians; and they had paid by attainders and executions the penalty of their attachment to the interests of the red rose. At the time of the battle of Bosworth the reins of administration were held by the chief of the Yorkists, the earl of Kildare; nor did Henry venture, at the commencement of his reign, to irritate a powerful faction by removing either the lord deputy, or the members of the council. But his jealousy was soon awakened by the reports of his spies; Kildare received a mandate to attend the English court; and his disobedience was excused by a petition from the spiritual and temporal peers, stating in forcible terms the necessity of his presence in Ireland. His conduct on the arrival of Simons was of a nature to confirm Henry's suspicions. He showed no distrust of the two adventurers; he inquired not how the earl came to be committed to the charge of an unknown priest, only twenty-seven years old; he evinced no anxiety to ascertain whether the real Warwick were still in the Tower or not; he allowed his own brother, the lord Thomas Fitz-Gerald, the chancellor, to introduce the boy under his assumed name to the nobility of Ireland and the citizens of Dublin, and to promise him protection against his enemies and those of his family. The Butlers, the bishops of Cashel, Tuam, Clogher, and Ossory, and

CHAP. V. A.D. 1486.

the citizens of Waterford, remained steady in their allegiance; the rest of the population, relying on the acquiescence or authority of Kildare, admitted the title of the new Plantagenet, without doubt or investigation; and the adventurer was proclaimed by the style of Edward VI., king of England and France and lord of Ireland.[1] Most assuredly the deputy had been already admitted into the secret.

When the intelligence reached Henry he was alarmed, not so much at what had happened, as from his ignorance of what might follow. 1. He assembled a great council of peers and prelates, and by their advice consented to do what he ought to have done long before.[2] The pardon which he had issued in favour of his opponents had been not only clogged with restrictions, but frequently violated. He now published a pardon which was full, without exceptions, and extended to every species of treason. 2. He conducted the real earl of Warwick from the Tower to St. Paul's, that he might be publicly recognised by the citizens; and took him with him to the palace of Shene, where the young prince conversed daily with the noblemen and others who visited the court.[3] This prudent measure satisfied the people of England. They laughed at the imposture in Ireland, while the Irish maintained that theirs was the real, and that the boy at Shene was the pretended Plantagenet. 3. But the next measure created surprise. The reader has witnessed the honourable manner in which the queen dowager lived at court. Suddenly, if we may believe several writers, she was arrested, despoiled of her goods, and committed to the custody of the monks of Bermondsey.

[1] Bacon, 14, 15. Polydor. 563. Wilk. Con. iii. 618, 622.
[2] Lell. Coll. iv. 209. [3] Ibid.

The reason assigned for this harsh treatment was, that after having, in the last reign, promised her daughter to Henry, she had delivered her into the hands of the usurper. But the pretext was too improbable to obtain credit. It was suspected that she had been concerned in the present plot.[1] Yet where could be her inducement? If Henry were dethroned, her daughter must share the fate of her husband. If the real or pretended Warwick should obtain the crown, all her children would of course be disinherited. At every step of this affair we meet with new mysteries. It will be recollected that the earl of Lincoln had been treated by Richard as heir-apparent. Though he viewed the new king as an usurper, he had carefully suppressed his feelings, and had been summoned to the last council, as one in whom Henry placed confidence. Yet the moment it was dissolved, he repaired to the court of his aunt, the duchess of Burgundy, consulted with her and Lord Lovell, and receiving an aid of two thousand veterans under Martin Swartz, an experienced officer, sailed to Ireland and landed at Dublin. His arrival gave new importance to the cause of the counterfeit Warwick. Though Lincoln had frequently conversed with the real prince at Shene,[2] he advised that the impostor should be

1487. March 19

[1] See Polydore, 564; Bacon, 16, 17. It is, indeed, possible that in a moment of alarm and uncertainty Henry may have confined the widow of Edward IV., as a measure of precaution. But I suspect the whole story has no other foundation than the fact that for the three or four last years of her life, Elizabeth chose to live in retirement at Bermondsey, paying occasional visits only to her daughter at Windsor. But of late this story has not only been assumed as true, but has been explained on the supposition that she was confined, to prevent her from revealing to the insurgents the dangerous secret that her son Richard was still alive (Laing, 433); a supposition, however, which is entirely overturned by a fact to be mentioned in the course of a few pages. [2] Lel. Coll. iv. 209.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1487. May 24.

crowned. The ceremony of his coronation was performed by the bishop of Meath, with a diadem taken from the statue of the Virgin Mary; and the new king was carried, after the Irish manner, from the church to the castle, on the shoulders of an English chieftain of the name of Darcy. Writs were even issued in his name; a parliament was convoked; and legal penalties were enacted against his principal opponents, Thomas and William Butler, and the citizens of Waterford.[1] But what could be Lincoln's object in contributing to this farce? Even the real earl of Warwick could not be heir to the crown as long as any of the posterity of Edward IV. were alive. If it be said that they had been declared illegitimate, so had Clarence, the father of Warwick, been attainted. In that case Lincoln himself had a better claim than the prince in whose right he pretended to draw the sword. When Henry first heard of the departure of Lincoln, he made a progress through the counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, in which the earl possessed considerable interest; and thence proceeded through Northampton and Coventry to his castle of Kenilworth, which he had appointed for the residence of his queen, and his mother. There intelligence was received that Lincoln, with his German auxiliaries and a body of Irish associates, had landed at the pile of Foudray, in the southern extremity of Furness; had remained in his camp at Swartmore, near Ulverstone, till he had been joined by the tenantry of Sir Thomas Broughton; and was actually on his march through the county of York. The king soon found himself surrounded by his friends with their retainers, and orders were published by his authority for "the goode

[1] Bacon, 18, 19. Irish Stat. 8 Henry VII.

"rule of his hooste." To steal, rob, or ravish; to take provisions without paying the price affixed by the clerk of the market; and to arrest or imprison any man on the pretext of delinquency but without special orders, were made crimes punishable with death. To take other lodgings than those assigned by the proper officers, to cause any quarrel or affray, or to prevent persons from bringing provisions to the army, subjected the offenders to the lesser punishment of imprisonment. Every man was ordered under the same penalty to saddle his horse at the first blast of the trumpet, to bridle it at the second, and at the third to be mounted and ready to march. Vagabonds, who had no master, and common women, were threatened with the stocks or imprisonment.[1] CHAP. V. A.D. 1487.

The two armies, as if by mutual compact, hastened towards Newark. It was in vain that the earl, as he advanced, tempted the loyalty of the inhabitants by proclaiming Edward VI. the head of the house of York. The real partisans of that family were restrained by their fears or their incredulity; and the few who joined the standard of the adventurer were outlaws or men of desperate fortunes. Disappointed but undismayed, Lincoln resolved to stake his life on the event of a battle; and precipitated his march, that he might find the king unprepared. The Royalists had moved from Kenilworth by Coventry, Leicester, and Nottingham; their numbers daily increased; but their quarters were ill chosen, and night after night they were thrown into confusion by alarms which furnished opportunities of desertion to the timid and June 8.

[1] See Lel. Coll. iv. 210—212. These orders were strictly put in execution, so that at Leicester and Loughborough "the stokks "and prisonnes wer reasonabley fylled."—Ibid.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1487.

disaffected. But, what will excite the surprise of the reader, the whole army lost its way between Nottingham and Newark. Five guides were at length procured from the village of Ratcliffe, and soon afterwards the vanguard under the earl of Oxford, was attacked at Stoke by the insurgents, amounting to eight thousand men. The action was short but sanguinary. June 16. The Germans fought and perished with the resolution of veterans; the adventurers from Ireland displayed their characteristic bravery, but with their darts and skeans (for the English settlers had adopted the arms of the natives) they were no match for the heavy cavalry; and though a portion only of the royalists was engaged, the victory was won with the slaughter of one half of their opponents. Of the leaders, the insurgents, the earl of Lincoln, the lords Thomas and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Sir Thomas Broughton, and Martin Swartz, remained on the field of battle; Lord Lovell was seen to escape from his pursuers; but whether he perished in crossing the Trent, or contrived to secrete himself from the notice of his friends and foes, is uncertain. He was never seen or heard of after that day.[1] Simons and his pupil sur-

[1] On account of his disappearance several writers have supposed that he perished in the battle. But the journal of the herald who was present evidently proves that he escaped. After mentioning the names of the slain, he adds, "and the viscount lorde Lovell was put "to flight."—Lel. Coll. 214. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, at his seat at Minster Lovell, in Oxfordshire, was accidentally discovered a chamber under the ground, in which was the skeleton of a man seated in a chair, with his head reclining on a table. Hence it is supposed that the fugitive had found an asylum in this subterraneous chamber, where he was perhaps starved to death through neglect. There is also a tradition that Sir Thomas Broughton escaped from the field, and lived till his death in concealment among his tenants at Witherslack, in the county of Westmoreland.—West's Furness, 210.

rendered to Robert Bellingham, one of the king's esquires. The priest was made to confess the imposture before the convocation, and then thrown into a prison, in which he perished. But the pretended Edward VI. obtained his pardon, resumed his real name of Lambert Simnel, was made a scullion in the royal kitchen, and afterwards, in reward of his good conduct, was raised to the more honourable office of falconer.[1]

CHAP. V. A.D. 1487.

From this insurrection the king learned an important lesson, that it was not his interest to wound the feelings of those whose principles had attached them to the house of York. His behaviour to the queen had created great discontent. Why, it was asked, was she not crowned? Why was she, the rightful heir to the crown, refused the usual honours of royalty? Other kings had been eager to crown their consorts; but Elizabeth had now been married a year and a half; she had borne the king a son to succeed to the throne; and yet she was kept in obscurity, as if she were unworthy of her station. Henry resolved to silence these murmurs, and from Warwick issued the requisite orders for her coronation. The ceremony was performed during the session of parliament; an ample provision was made for her maintenance; and from that period Elizabeth was brought forward on all occasions of parade, and seemed to enjoy the same consideration as former queens.[2]

Nov. 25.

[1] For an account of this insurrection, compare the journal of the herald in Lel. Coll. iv. 209—215, with Hall, 4—10, Bacon, 13—23, and the Rolls, vi. 397. Vivit adhuc Lambertus ex rege accipitrum domitor factus, postquam aliquantisper in coquina regia veru verterat.—Polyd. 568.

[2] On the Friday before the coronation fourteen gentlemen were created knights of the Bath. On the Saturday the queen went in

CHAP. V. A.D. 1487.

The first care of the parliament was to supply the wants of the conqueror by a grant of money, and a bill of attainder, which included almost every man of property engaged in the late insurrection.[1] Next the king required their aid to put down the dangerous and unlawful practice of "maintenance." The reader will recollect that by "maintenance" was understood an association of individuals under a chief, whose livery they wore, and to whom they bound themselves by oaths and promises, for the purpose of maintaining by force the private quarrels of the chief and the members. Hence the course of justice was obstructed, jurors were intimidated, and offenders escaped with impunity. Hence also (and this it was that chiefly provoked the hostility of the king) powerful noblemen were furnished with the means of raising forces at a short warning to oppose the reigning prince, or to assist a new claimant. In the preceding parliament an oath had been required from the lords, and was

procession from the Tower to Westminster. She was dressed in white cloth of gold of damask, with a mantle of the same furred with ermine. "Her faire yelow hair hung downe pleyne byhynd her bak, "with a calle of pipes over it." On her head was a circle of gold ornamented with precious stones. In this dress she was borne through the city reclining in a litter, with a canopy of cloth of gold carried over her by four knights of the body. Several carriages and four baronesses on grey palfreys followed. On the Sunday she was crowned, and afterwards dined in the hall. "The lady Catharine "Grey and Mistress Ditton went under the table, and sate at her feet, "while the countesses of Oxford and Rivers knelt on each side, and "at certeyne tymys helde a kerchief byfor her grace." The king viewed both the coronation and the dinner from behind a lattice.—Lell. Coll. iv. 216—233.

[1] Rot. Parl. vi. 386, 400. I have said, "almost every man of "property," for by mistake or design lord Lovell was omitted. But the omission was discovered eight years afterwards, and a new bill of attainder was passed to include him (Rot. Parl. vi. 502). The number, however, of the insurgents had then dwindled from eight to five thousand, a proof that we are not to trust to acts of attainder for more than the substance of the offence.

ordered to be taken by the commons in each county, that they would not keep in their service men openly cursed, or murderers, or felons, or outlaws; that they would not retain persons by indentures, or give liveries contrary to law; and that they would not make riots or maintenances, nor oppose the due execution of the king's writs.[1] In the present it was enacted that the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, or two of them, with one bishop, one temporal peer, and the chief judges of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, should have authority to call before them persons accused of having offended in any of these points, and to punish the guilty, as if they had been convicted by the ordinary course of justice. It appears from the acts of the council that in cases of breach of the peace committed, or of combinations likely to lead to such breach, formed by persons whose rank and power screened them from the ordinary pursuit of justice, it had been the custom for the king to call such individuals before the council, where contending parties were reconciled, the guilty punished, and the suspected compelled to give security for their good behaviour. This, which might be called the criminal jurisdiction of the council, was transferred to the new court now erected; which, however useful it may have proved at its origin, was gradually converted into an engine of intolerable oppression. Other privy counsellors

[1] Ibid. 287. Rym. xii. 280. On that occasion the judges had been consulted, who replied that it was impossible to enforce the execution of the laws, as long as "maintenances" existed. The chief justice, among other things observed, that in the time of Edward IV. the lords swore to observe the statutes, and yet in his presence several of them, within an hour afterwards, retained by oaths persons to support their quarrels, and consequently to set aside the execution of the law.—Year-book, Term. Mich. 1 Hen. VII. 3.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1487.

besides those named in the act, even peers not privy counsellors, were called in to sit as judges; the limits of their jurisdiction, as fixed by statute, were extended till they included libels, misdemeanors, and contempts; and the power of pronouncing that judgment on delinquents to which they would have been liable if they had been convicted "after the due "course of law," grew in practice into a power of punishing at discretion, and with a severity which provoked the curses and hatred of all classes of men. This court was called the court of the star-chamber, from the accidental decorations of the room in which it usually sat.[1]

Henry was careful to cultivate the friendship which subsisted between him and the king of Scots. To cement it the more firmly, Fox, bishop of Durham, had been sent during the summer to Edinburgh; and a mutual agreement had been made, that James, who had lost his consort, the daughter of the king of Denmark, should marry Elizabeth, the queen dowager of England, and that his two sons should also marry two of her daughters.[2] Days were even appointed for the

Nov. 28.

[1] Statutes of Realm, ii. 509. Bacon, 38. On the 15th of December, during this parliament, a conspiracy was formed among the servants of the household to murder some of the superior officers. Six of the ringleaders were attainted of felony by parliament, and an act was passed which made it felony without benefit of clergy for any person under the rank of a lord, if he were entered on the cheque-roll of the household, to conspire the death of the king, of any peer, of any privy consellor, or of the steward, treasurer, or comptroller of the household. Before this act they could not be so punished for the conspiracy itself, unless the act followed.—Rot. Parl. vi. 402. Stat. of Realm, ii. 521.

[2] Rym. xii. 329. This fact deserves particular notice, as it invincibly disproves the hypothesis of those writers who maintain that Henry knew that one of the sons of Edward IV. was still living, and had confined their mother Elizabeth that she might not divulge the secret. If this were true, it is incredible that he should have wished to marry Elizabeth to the king of Scots, and her two daughters to two

meeting of ambassadors to fix the marriage settlements; but the project was interrupted by the rebellion of the Scottish lords, and finally defeated by the death of James, who, after losing the battle of Canglor, in June, 1488, was murdered at the mill of Beaton during his flight. Though Henry grieved for the death of his friend, he was anxious to maintain the relations of amity with his successor; and therefore, as the truce might be said to have terminated at the death of James, he ratified it anew in the following month. Thus was peace continued between the two crowns for the space of eleven years; an unusual duration, preparative of that harmony which, after centuries of rapine and bloodshed, was at last happily established.[1]

June 11.

Scottish princes. Such marriages would have placed her in a situation where she might have published the truth without fear, have secured an asylum for her son, and have seconded his claim with all the power of Scotland. Indeed, I give no credit to the account of Henry's enmity to his mother-in-law. That she was high in the king's favour just before the rebellion of Lincoln, appears from his having chosen her to be godmother to his son; that she was equally so after, may be inferred from his wish to marry her the same year to his friend the king of Scots.—Polydore, indeed (p. 571), and Bacon (p. 16), who transcribes Hall (p. 3), tell us that the king, on the rebellion of Lincoln, deprived her of all her lands and estates. If they mean her dower as queen, the only property which she had, their assertion is undoubtedly false. She had been deprived of that by Richard III.; nor was it restored by Henry's parliament, when it repealed so much of the act as deprived her "of the name, estate, and dignity of "queen."—Rot. Parl. vi. 288. In lieu of it the king granted her a compensation. See the collection of unpublished acts by Rymer, Hen. VII. tom. i. Nos. 29, 39. Again, Polydore (ibid.) assures us that she ever afterwards led a miserable life; Carte (p. 827) and Laing (p. 433), that she was kept in the strictest confinement. But this too must be in a great measure, if not entirely, false; for we accidentally learn from the journal of the herald (Lel. Coll. iv. 249), that when the French ambassadors were introduced to the queen at Westminster in November, 1489, "ther was with hir hir moder "quene Elizabeth, and my lady the kinge's moder;" and we find her next year receiving an annuity from the king.—Rym. ibid. No. 75.

[1] Rym. xii. 328—331, 346.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1487.

As soon as the king was relieved from domestic enemies, he was compelled to direct his attention to the continent. By force, or policy, or good fortune, the French monarchs had gradually obtained possession of the other great fiefs of the crown; Bretagne alone retained its own prince, and its ancient constitution. But the duke Francis was advanced in age, and weak both in mind and body. His family consisted of two daughters, the elder of whom, named Anne, had reached her twelfth year. So rich an heiress attracted a number of suitors, among whom the most distinguished were, Maximilian king of the Romans, the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood in France, and the lord d'Albret, a powerful chieftain near the foot of the Pyrenees. Each of these might flatter himself with the hope of obtaining with the princess her ample patrimony; but they had all a dangerous enemy in the king of France, who, though he was prevented from soliciting the hand of Anne by his previous contract with the daughter of Maximilian, had determined at the death of the duke to take possession of the duchy in virtue of some ancient and unintelligible claim, which had lain dormant for centuries.

Charles VIII. had ascended the throne in 1483, at the age of fourteen, an age at which the law presumed that the heir to the sceptre must be possessed of sufficient capacity and experience to govern the kingdom. But his father Louis XI. had thought otherwise; and in obedience to the instructions of that monarch, the states placed the young king under the tutelage of his elder sister, Anne of France, who had married Pierre de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu. The duke of Orleans, though he had not reached his twenty-fourth year,

was offended with the choice; he raised forces against the regent, and was compelled to seek the protection of the duke of Bretagne. It so chanced that at the same time several Breton nobles, who had incurred the resentment of Francis by the murder of his favourite minister Pierre de Landois, had fled to the court of Charles. The regency declared war, for the apparent purpose of compelling the duke to pardon the exiles, and give up the French prince, but with the real view of preventing the marriage of Anne, and of annexing Bretagne to the crown. Both parties applied to Henry. The king of France deprecated his interference; the duke solicited immediate assistance. Charles, to lull his jealousy, represented the war as an unimportant quarrel between himself and the protector of a rebellious vassal; Francis endeavoured to awaken his fears, by describing the accession of power which France would derive from the conquest of the duchy. Each appealed to his gratitude. The former reminded him of the French auxiliaries who fought under his banner at the battle of Bosworth; the latter of the protection which he had experienced during his long exile in Bretagne. Henry was perplexed; and unwilling to offend either, he offered himself as a mediator between both. With this view his almoner Urswick was employed month after month in useless journeys between the courts of Paris, Rennes, and Westminster. Charles, while he professed himself willing to accept the mediation, prosecuted the war with additional vigour. In May he entered Bretagne; Ploermel and Vannes were compelled to open their gates; and in June the duke saw himself besieged in his capital. Maximilian sent to his assistance a body of fifteen hundred men, who with a reinforcement of

May.

June 19.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1487. July. Bretons, fought their way through the French lines, and ultimately compelled the enemy to abandon the siege. Charles, however, continued the war; and to be revenged of the king of the Romans, ordered the August 28. mareschal de Cordes to aid the citizens of Bruges and Ghent, who had revolted from Maximilian. Francis reiterated his solicitations to Henry; but the king, trusting to the chance of events and the internal resources of Bretagne, always promised and always delayed. It was not that he could plead poverty. His parliament had granted him two fifteenths, and advised him to assist his friend; but avarice prompted him to accept the money, and to neglect the advice. He acquainted the French court with the proceedings of parliament, in the vain hope that Charles might be terrified into forbearance; he refused to English adventurers the royal permission to serve in the army of Francis; and when Sir Edward Wydevile with four 1488. July 14. hundred men privately sailed from the Isle of Wight for Bretagne, he not only disavowed the expedition to the French government, but consented to an armistice which should last for six months.[1]

It was not, however, long before he saw reason to doubt the policy of such vacillating conduct. In the disastrous battle of St. Aubin, Sir Edward Wydevile July 28. was slain with all his countrymen and seventeen hundred Bretons, who, to deceive the enemy, had adopted the white coats and red crosses of the English soldiers. The duke of Orleans was made prisoner; St. Aubin, August 21. Dinant, and St. Malo surrendered; and Francis signed a treaty, by which he consented that Charles should retain all his conquests, and that neither of his

[1] Bacon, 29—32. Rym. xii. 344, 347. Com. Supplem. c. iii. iv. Polyd. 569. Hall, 11—14. Daniel, ann. 1485—1488.

daughters should marry without the approbation of the French king. But the sequel was still more perplexing. In a few weeks Francis died, and soon afterwards his younger daughter followed him to the grave. The king of France, in virtue of his pretended claim, demanded the whole succession; hostilities recommenced; and before Christmas one half of Bretagne was in the hands of the French. The clamour of the nation now roused Henry from his apathy. On the same day he despatched envoys to the kings of Spain and Portugal, to Maximilian and his son the archduke Philip, to Anne of Bretagne, and Charles of France. Of these embassies the four first were chiefly meant for parade; to the orphan princess he made the offer of an English army; to the king of France he proposed a renewal of the truce, but with an additiona clause, that each party might include his allies. Sensible that the proposal would be rejected, he insinuated to Charles, that if his people compelled him to aid the Bretons, his army should act entirely on the defensive.[1]

CHAP. V. A.D. 1488 — Sept. 8, 9. Dec. 11.

Henry now summoned a parliament. The nation was anxious to rescue a young and unfortunate princess from the power of a victorious enemy: but the cold-hearted king had determined to enrich himself from the generosity of the one and the necessities of the other. From his subjects he demanded an aid of one hundred thousand pounds for the maintenance of ten thousand archers during twelve months; but the amount was cut down to seventy-five thousand; and to raise that sum, the lords for themselves, the commons for themselves and their constituents,

1489. Jan. 13.

[1] Rym. xii. 347—355. Bacon, 37. Hall, v. 15. Com. Supplem. v.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1489.

granted to the king a tenth of the yearly produce of their lands, fees, and pensions, with a tax on personal property of one penny in eight. To Anne he promised an army of six thousand archers to serve for six months; but on conditions to which her necessities compelled her to subscribe, that she should surrender two fortresses as securities for the repayment of the expense, and should take an oath not to marry without his consent. In the spring Sir Robert Willoughby de Brooke landed in Bretagne with the stipulated number of men; but as Charles knew that the English were forbidden to undertake offensive operations, he ordered his own forces to abstain from a general engagement. The consequence was, that a few skirmishes kept up the appearance of hostilities; and the auxiliaries, as soon as the six months of their service were completed, returned to their own country.[1]

Feb. 10.

November.

But, if the war languished in Bretagne, it was distinguished by a most brilliant action in Flanders. The revolted Flemings with the aid of De Cordes had besieged Dixmude; and the lords Daubeney and Morley, with two thousand archers and thrice that number of Germans, attacked them in their camp, though it was defended by a strong battery. The archers poured a volley of arrows into the trenches, fell on the ground till the guns had been discharged, rose on their feet, poured in a second volley, and rushed precipitately into the camp. The victory was complete; but it was stained with cruelty. Revenge for the death of "that gentili yong knight the lord "Morlay" so transported the victors, that they refused to give quarter, and eight thousand of the enemy

June 13.

[1] Bacon, 37. Rym. xii. 362, 372. Rot. Parl. vi. 420.

are said to have been slain, a carnage almost incredible, if we consider the small number of the combatants in each army.[1]

The expedition to Bretagne had, however, been productive of some advantage. It had stopped the progress of the French arms. At the same time the levies of Ferdinand king of Spain had compelled Charles to detach a numerous force to Fontarabia, for the protection of that frontier. In these circumstances the defeat at Dixmude, and the surrender of St. Omer to the king of the Romans, induced the French monarch to listen to proposals for peace; and in a convention with Maximilian, he consented to restore to the princess all the towns which belonged to Francis at the time of his death, and promised that as soon as the English forces should retire, and she should give security for her allegiance, St. Malo, Fougères, Dinant, and St. Aubyn should be sequestered, to remain in the hands of an indifferent person till the claim of Charles to the duchy could be satisfactorily determined.

We may now return to England, where of the sum voted in the last session of parliament only a small part had been raised. The commons of the northern counties had not only refused to pay their proportion, but had even murdered the king's lieutenant, the earl of Northumberland. But the insurrection was quickly suppressed by the earl of Surrey; John à Chambre, April 28.

[1] Hall, 18. Bacon, 47. The herald has celebrated in his journal the resolution of an archer, called John Pearson, of Coventry, who, having lost a leg by a cannon-shot, continued to discharge his arrows kneeling or sitting, "And when the Frenchemen fledde, he "cried to one of his felowes, and saide, have thow these six arrowes "that I have lefte, and folow thow the chase, for I may not. The "which John Pearson died within few days after, on whose soulle "God have mercy."—Lel. Coll. iv. 247.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1490. Feb. 27.

one of the ringleaders, suffered at York; and Sir John Egremond, the other, escaped to the duchess of Burgundy.[1] In the next session, the deficiency of the tax, which instead of seventy-five had produced no more than twenty-five thousand pounds, was amply supplied by the grant of a tenth and a fifteenth. Henry with great care deposited the money in his coffers. War was not his object. Instead of military preparations he consumed the whole of the present and a great part of the next year in forming and re-forming alliances with the kings of Spain and the Romans. Never perhaps did three princes profess more, and feel less, affection for each other. For the common advantage of Christendom they agreed to set bounds to the ambition of France; but in reality each sought, by working on the apprehensions of Charles, to promote his individual interest. Maximilian hoped to recover the ancient patrimony of his family on the north of France, and with the duchess to obtain the duchy of Bretagne; Ferdinand expected to procure the restitution of Rousillon, which he had formerly mortgaged for the loan of three hundred thousand crowns; while Henry cared little for the fate of Bretagne, or the interests of his allies, provided he could extort from Anne security for the repayment of his expenses, and from Charles a valuable present in reward of his forbearance.[2]

The king of the Romans, both by the promptitude with which he had formerly sent succours to Francis, and the attention which he had lately paid to the interests of Anne, had won the esteem of both the father and daughter; and when, during the cessation

[1] Hall, 16. Bacon, 41. Fab. 528. Lel. Coll. iv. 246.
[2] Rot. Parl. vi. 438. Rym. xi. 387, 394—430, 437, 440, 443.

of hostilities, she signified her consent to his proposal of marriage, she did no more than comply with the wishes of her deceased parent. If Maximilian had improved the golden opportunity to visit Bretagne, he would have secured the object of his ambition; but his Flemish subjects were in rebellion; the journey by land or water would expose him to his enemies; and it was thought that the marriage by proxy would be equally certain and less dangerous. With this view the prince of Orange, as the representative of the king of the Romans, married the duchess in his name in the month of April; and within a few weeks, the lord D'Albret, one of her suitors, to revenge the disappointment, betrayed to the French the important city of Nantes. War was now renewed; the king of the Romans thinking himself secure, neglected to succour his wife; Henry harassed her with demands of money for the repayment of his former expenses; and Charles formed the plan, suspected by neither of these powers, of compelling her to break her contract with Maximilian, and to marry himself.[1]

1491. April.

May

It was true that at an early age he had been contracted to Margaret of Austria, Maximilian's daughter, who had been educated in France as his consort, and only waited till she reached the age of puberty to ratify the marriage. But this circumstance, which might have deterred other princes, only supplied Charles with a cloak to conceal his real intention. By promises and bribes he bought the counsellors of the duchess; but when the proposal was made to her, she rejected it with disdain. Was not Charles her natural enemy? Was he not contracted to Margaret?

[1] Hall, 20. Bacon, 48. Com. Supplem, vi.

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Was not she herself married to Maximilian? They replied that she ought to sacrifice a feeling of dislike to the interests of her country; that the contract between Charles and Margaret was void, because that princess was under age; and that the marriage between herself and Maximilian had not been consummated, and might therefore be dissolved, because Bretagne was a fief of the French crown, and by law an heiress could not marry without the consent of her lord. These reasons made no impression on the mind of Anne; but they were supported by a French army, which appeared before the gates of Rennes. She was now told that her obstinacy had been punished. There remained no hope of escape. She must be either the wife or the captive of Charles. Subdued at last by importunity and terror, she consented to a treaty, of which the principal articles were that she should marry the French king; that the rights of each should be reciprocally communicated to the other; that the survivor should retain possession of the duchy; but that, in case she were the survivor, she should, if she remained single, bequeath her dominions to the reigning prince, or, if she chose to marry, marry no one but the actual possessor or the presumptive heir of the French crown. She was married to Charles at Langey, in Tourraine, and crowned in the abbey church of St. Denis.[1]

Dec. 13.

The reader may conceive the feelings of Maximilian at this double disappointment. By his own inactivity, and the arts of his enemy, he had lost for himself a wife and a principality, for his daughter a husband and a throne. His rage vented itself in threats and

[1] Hall, 29. Bacon, 55. Com. Supplem. vi. Daniel, anno 1489—1491.

imprecations; but the exhaustion of his treasury, and the factious temper of his people, forbade him to seek revenge by open hostilities. Henry received the intelligence with the coolness of a philosopher; and, instead of irritating his mind by reflecting on what he had lost, sat himself down to calculate the chances of deriving pecuniary advantages from the event. During the last year he had repeatedly assumed a warlike attitude; he had ordered troops to be levied, stores to be provided; he had even appointed commissioners to extort money in the different counties under the illegal and vexatious name of "benevolence."[1] In October he acquainted the parliament with his resolution of chastising the perfidy of the French king (though Charles had not then married the princess), and obtained from it a grant of two tenths and two fifteenths.[2] After Christmas he found both houses still more eager for war; an act was passed in favour of those who should accompany the king enabling them to alienate their estates without the payment of fines, and to enfeoff lands, that their executors might have funds to fulfil their bequests; and laws were made, compelling the captains under pain of imprisonment and forfeiture to pay their men within six days after the money was issued from the treasury, and making it felony for any soldier to leave the army without the permission of his superior officer.[3]

July 7.

Oct 17.

1492. Jan 26.

Still these laws and preparations were but a mask, under which the king sought to conceal his designs from his own subjects as well as the enemy. The former would pay the tenths and fifteenths; the latter

[1] Rym. xii. 446, 455, 464.

[2] Rot. Parl. vi. 442.

[3] Stat. of Realm, ii. 549

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might perhaps offer a valuable sum for the purchase of peace. With this view he continually invented reasons for delay. It would be dangerous to leave the kingdom exposed to the inroads of the Scots;

May 18 four months were employed in negotiating a prolongation of the armistice between the two kingdoms.[1] Two more were consumed in forming contracts for the levy of different descriptions of force; of men-at-arms each attended by his custrel and page, of lancers and archers on horseback, and of foot soldiers armed with bows, halberds, and bills.[2] These troops were mustered and inspected in June and July; yet week passed after week, and the season for active operations was suffered to elapse before the king put

Oct. 2. himself at the head of the army. In the beginning

Oct. 18. of October he landed at Calais; a fortnight later he sat down before Boulogne, with sixteen hundred men-at-arms, and twenty-five thousand infantry.

It was now believed that the war had begun; and the people of England flattered themselves with the anticipation of victory and conquest. Henry had other objects in view. As long back as the month of June he had commissioned the lord d'Aubigny, governor of Calais, to negotiate a peace and alliance with Charles; and, if we may judge from appearances, that peace was, in substance at least, already concluded. On the part of France no preparations were made to repel the invaders; and Henry, instead of acting with vigour, first published a letter from his envoy in the court of Maximilian, and then another from his ambassador with Ferdinand, that the army might know how little was to be expected from either

Oct. 27. of those princes. Soon afterwards he received from

[1] Rym. xii. 465, 473. [2] Ibid. 478—480.

d'Aubigny the rough draft of a treaty, which was immediately submitted to the consideration of twenty-four of his principal officers. In their report to the king they advised him to sign it, alleging the lateness of the season, the sickness of the army, the inactivity of his allies, the strength of Boulogne and the neigbouring fortresses, and the advantageous offers of his antagonist. Henry had asked their opinion merely to exonerate himself from the blame; and two treaties, the one public the other private, were immediately concluded. By the former, peace, alliance, and confederacy were established between the two crowns, to last during the lives of both kings, and for one year after the death of the survivor; by the latter Charles bound himself to pay to Henry by half-yearly instalments of twenty-five thousand crowns, the aggregate sum of one hundred and forty-nine thousand pounds sterling; one hundred and twenty-four thousand of which should be received in lieu of all claims against Anne of Bretagne, and twenty-five thousand as the arrears of the annuity due to the late king Edward IV. Henry returned to Calais. His favourites, who had received bribes from the French king, applauded the wisdom and good fortune of their master; but the army loudly condemned the dissimulation and avarice of a prince who, to replenish his own coffers, had not hesitated to disappoint the hopes of the nation, and to lead so many knights and noblemen into ruinous, and at the same time unnecessary expenses.[1]

Nov. 3.

Nov. 12.

It is now time to introduce to the reader one of the most mysterious personages recorded in English history. About the time when Henry published his

[1] Rym. xii. 490—508. Bacon, 63. Rot. Parl. vi. 507.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1492.

intention of making war against France, a merchant vessel from Lisbon cast anchor in the cove of Cork. Among the passengers was a youth, whom no person knew, about twenty years of age, of handsome features and courtly deportment. It was soon rumoured that he was Richard duke of York, the second son of Edward IV.; but how his birth was ascertained, or in what manner he accounted for his escape from the Tower, when Edward V. was murdered,[1] or where he had lived during the last seven years, though questions which must have been asked, are secrets which have never been explained. To such inquiries, however, he gave answers which satisfied the credulity of his friends; and, as the English settlers were warmly attached to the house of York, O'Walter, the late mayor of Cork, easily induced the citizens to declare in his favour. An attempt was even made to secure the assistance of the earl of Kildare, and of his kinsman the earl of Desmond, formerly the great supporters of the white rose. The latter declared in favour of Perkin; the former, who had lately been disgraced by Henry, returned an ambiguous but courteous answer. The adventurer had yet no apparent reason to be displeased with his reception; when he suddenly accepted an invitation from the ministers of Charles VIII., to visit France, and place himself under the protection of that monarch. He was received by the king as the real duke of York, and the rightful heir to the English throne. For his greater security a guard of honour was allotted to him under the command of the lord of Concressault;[2] and,

[1] Even those who assert that this adventurer was the real duke of York agreed that Edward V. was dead, as he never appeared, nor did any one ever take his name.

[2] Of a Scotch family of the name of Monipeny. If I understand

the English exiles and outlaws, to the number of one hundred, offered him their services by their agent Sir George Neville. Henry was perplexed and alarmed. He hastened to sign the peace with the French monarch; and Charles instantly ordered the adventurer to quit his dominions. This order betrays the real object of the countenance which had been given to his pretensions; perhaps, it may explain why he made his appearance at that particular period.[1]

A.D. 1492. Nov. 3.

Leaving France, he solicited the protection of Margaret, the dowager duchess of Burgundy, who received him with joy, appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers, and gave him the surname of "The white "rose of England." Her conduct revived the alarm of the king and the hopes of his enemies. Could the aunt, it was asked, be deceived as to the identity of her nephew? Or would so virtuous a princess countenance an impostor? Henry spared neither pains nor expense to unravel the mystery. His agents were distributed through the towns and villages of Flanders, and valuable rewards were offered for the slightest information. The Yorkists were equally active. Their secret agent Sir Robert Clifford was permitted to see "the white rose," and to hear from the pretender and his aunt the history of his adventures. He assured his employers in England that the claim of the new duke of York was indisputable; while the royal emissaries reported that his real name was Perkin Warbeck; that he was born of respectable parents in the city of Tournay; that he had frequented the company

rightly a letter of Ramsey Lord Bothwell, Concressault told him that he and the admiral of France had made many inquiries respecting the birth of the adventurer, but to no purpose. See the letter in Pinkerton's Scotland, ii. 438. Ellis, i. 28.

[1] Hall, 30, 31. Polyd. 582.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1492.

of the English merchants in Flanders, and had some time before sailed from Middleburgh to Lisbon in the service of Lady Brompton, the wife of one of the outlaws.[1]

1493. July 13.

With this clue Henry was satisfied, and despatched Sir Edward Poynings and Dr. Warham as his ambassadors to the archduke Philip, the sovereign of Burgundy. Their ostensible object was to renew the treaties between England and the Netherlands: but their secret instructions commissioned them to demand the surrender, or, if that could not be obtained, the expulsion of Warbeck. The ministers of the archduke were divided, some maintaining the identity, others the imposture of the pretender. An answer was ultimately returned, that Philip, through friendship for the king, would abstain from affording aid to his enemy, but that he could not control the duchess, who was absolute mistress within the lands of her dower. Henry, to manifest his displeasure, withdrew the mart of English cloth from Antwerp to Calais, and strictly prohibited all intercourse between the two countries.[2]

1494.

Clifford, and Barley his associate, had gone to Flanders, as the envoys of the Yorkists; others, spies in the pay of Henry, repaired to Brussels under the pretence of testifying their attachment to the new duke of York. These, the moment they had wormed themselves into the confidence of the adventurer, betrayed to the king all his secrets, with the names of his partisans. The consequence was, that on the same day the lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, Robert Ratcliffe, William Daubeney, Thomas

[1] Hall, 31, 32.
[2] Rym. xii. 544. Hall, 33. Polyd. 584.

Cressemer, Thomas Atwood, and several clergymen, were apprehended on the charge of high treason. Their correspondence with the friends of the pretender in Flanders was considered a sufficient proof of their guilt; and all received judgment of death. Mountford, Thwaites, and Ratcliffe suffered immediately; Lord Fitzwater was imprisoned at Calais, where three years later he forfeited his life by an unsuccessful attempt to escape. The rest were pardoned; but this act of vigour astonished and dismayed the unknown friends of the adventurer, many of whom conscious of their guilt, and sensible that their associates had been betrayed, fled for security to the different sanctuaries.[1]

CHAP. V. A.D. 1494.

There remained, however, one who, while he flattered himself that he possessed a high place in the royal favour, had been secretly marked out for destruction. After the festivities of Christmas, Henry repaired with his court to the Tower. Clifford, whose fidelity had been corrupted by promises and presents, arrived from Flanders, was introduced to the king in council, and on his knees obtained a full pardon. Being exhorted to prove his repentance by discovering what he knew of the conspiracy, he accused the lord chamberlain, Sir William Stanley. The king started with affected horror, and refused to give credit to the charge. To Sir William he was indebted both for his crown and his life. At the battle of Bosworth, when he was on the point of sinking under the pressure of the enemy, that nobleman had rescued him from danger, and had secured to him the victory. But Clifford repeated the accusation with greater boldness, and Henry, out of apparent tenderness to his friend,

1495. Jan. 7

[1] Rot. Parl. vi. 503, 504. Hall, 34.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1495.

desired Sir William to confine himself to his apartment in the square tower, and to reserve his defence till his examination on the following morning. Whether it arose from consciousness of guilt, or from confidence in his past services, the prisoner confessed the truth of the charge; on that confession he was arraigned and condemned at Westminster; and after a decent interval suffered the punishment of decapitation. His death gave rise to contradictory reports. Feb. 15. By some it was said that he had supplied the pretender with money; by others, that when he was solicited to declare for him, he had replied: "Were I sure that he "was the son of Edward, I would never fight against "him."[1] This at least is probable, that unless he had been really entangled in the conspiracy, Henry would never have proceeded to the execution of a nobleman to whom he was under so many obligations; but the general opinion of the king's avarice provoked a suspicion that the enormous wealth of the prisoner was the chief obstacle to his pardon. By his death, plate and money to the value of forty thousand pounds, with lands to the amount of three thousand pounds a year, devolved to the crown. A reward of five hundred pounds had already been given to Clifford; but he was never afterwards trusted by Henry.[2]

Three years had now elapsed since the pretender

[1] Polyd. Virg. 585. André says that he had not only sent money to the pretender, but illum tutari et in regnum adducere promiserat. —MS. Dom. A. xviii. The indictment charges him with having consented to the mission of Clifford, and promised to receive and aid such persons as Clifford should send to him with a private sign.—Howell, State Trials, iii. 366.

[2] Rot. Parl. vi. 504. Fab. 530. Hall, 35. Bacon, 76—78. Speed, ex MS. Bern. Andreæ, 974. Excerp. Hist. 100. From the privy purse expenses it appears that the king sent 10*l.* to Sir William Stanley at his execution, and paid 17*l.* 19s. for his funeral at Syon.—Ibid. 101, 102.

first set forth his claim; and yet, during that long interval, he had never made any attempt to establish it by legal proof, or to enforce it by an appeal to the sword.[1] This protracted delay, the accounts which had been published of his country and parentage, the punishment of his friends in England, and the pacification of Ireland, made his cause appear desperate; and both the Flemish, whose commerce had been suspended on his account, and the archduke, whose treasury suffered from the deficiency of the customs, began to complain of the countenance which he had hitherto received from the duchess Margaret. In this emergency he sailed from the coast of Flanders with a few hundreds of adventurers attached to his fortunes, and, while Henry was on a visit to his mother at Latham, in Lancashire, made a descent in the neighbourhood of Deal. But the inhabitants, either believing him an impostor, or urged by the fear of incurring the royal displeasure, attacked the invaders, made one hundred and sixty-nine prisoners, and drove the remainder into their boats. All the captives were hanged by the order of Henry, some in London, and others in different parts of the coast. Warbeck, despairing of success in England, sailed to Ireland, and with the aid of the earl of Desmond laid siege to Waterford. Sir Edward Poynings was lord deputy for Henry, duke of York, the king's second son, only four years of age. He immediately raised the royal standard, hastened to Waterford, and compelled Perkin to flee with the loss of three of his ships. This second failure extinguished the hopes of the adventurer; it was some

A.D. 1495.

July 3.

[1] Fab. 530. Hall, 37. Stowe, 479. Rot. Parl. vi. 504. Polyd. 589.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1495.

consolation to him that he had still the good fortune to regain his former asylum.[1]

Henry now thought it expedient to summon parliaments both in Ireland and England. In the Irish parliament, statutes were enacted to free the lower classes of inhabitants from the grievous impositions of coyne and livery; to break the power of the great lords by the prohibition of maintenance; to preserve the English ascendancy within the pale by the revival of the statutes of Kilkenny:[2] and to provide for the good government of the English domains by giving to all statutes "*lately* made in England, and belonging to "the public weal of the same," the force of law in Ireland. As the people had been harassed by frequent parliaments, in which ordinances were repeatedly made for the sole profit of the chief governor, or of the party which he espoused, it was enacted that for the future no parliament should be holden till the king had been informed, by the lieutenant and council, of the necessity of the same, and of the acts intended to be passed in it, and had previously given his license and approbation under the great seal.[3] In these provisions the deputy appears to have had no other object than the welfare of the state; but he was thought to have been swayed by private considerations in the act of attainder which he procured against the earl of Kildare, his family, and adherents. Henry, however, whose object it was to strengthen his interest in the sister island, accepted the apology offered by Kildare, and

[1] Sir Frederic Madden was the first to call attention to this attempt on the part of Perkin.—See Archæol. xxvii. 170.

[2] That forbidding the use of the Irish language was excepted; a proof that the English settlers had by this time generally adopted it.

[3] On Poyning's law, I have followed the opinion of Leland, ii. App. 512—516.

received him again to favour. The earl of Desmond, whose guilt was less ambiguous, had previously submitted, had given one of his sons as a hostage for his fidelity, and had taken a second time the oath of allegiance. A free pardon was afterwards granted to the rest of the natives, with the exception of Lord Barry and O'Water, and tranquillity was fully restored in the island.[1]

CHAP. V. A.D. 1495 — Oct. 14.

In the English parliament a bill of attainder was passed, at the king's request, against twenty-one gentlemen who had suffered, or had been condemned, for their adhesion to the pretender. The other acts of the session were to ratify the peace of Estaples, according to one of the articles of the treaty;[2] and to enact the penalty of forfeiture against all persons holding fees, annuities, or offices from the crown (and to these were afterwards added, all possessing lands, hereditaments, and honours by letters patent),[3] who should neglect to attend in person the king in his wars. But the nation had now grown weary of civil dissension. The extinction or beggary of so many noble and opulent families had proved a useful lesson to the existing generation; and men betrayed a reluctance to engage in contests in which they knew from experience that they must either gain the ascendancy, or lose their lives or their fortunes. To obviate these disastrous consequences a statute was made, declaring, that no one who should attend on the king and sovereign lord for the time being, to do him faithful service in the wars, should hereafter, on that account, whatever might be the fortune of battle,

Oct. 27.

[1] Rot. Parl. vi. 482. Rym. xii. 558—562, 634. Stat. of Realm, ii. 612.
[2] Rot. Parl. vi. 503—508. Rym. xii. 710.
[3] Ibid. vi. 525.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1495.

be attainted of treason, or incur the penalty of forfeiture. That this act might be set aside by the avarice or the resentment of a successful competitor was indeed evident: yet it was perhaps the best remedy that could be devised for the evil; and a hope was cherished, both from the reasonableness of the measure, and from the benefits which it promised to all parties, that in future contests it would be generally respected.[1]

1496. Feb. 24.

The repulse of Warbeck in his late expedition, and the complaint of the Flemish merchants, induced the archduke to solicit a reconciliation with Henry; and, after a few conferences between their respective envoys, the "great treaty of commerce between England "and the Netherlands" was signed. By it every facility was afforded to the trade of the two countries; but there was appended to it a provision, which from this period Henry inserted in every treaty with foreign sovereigns, that each of the contracting parties should banish from his dominions the known enemies of the other; and to preclude the possibility of evasion in the present instance, it was expressly stipulated that Philip should not permit the duchess to aid or harbour the king's rebels, but should deprive her of her domains if she acted in opposition to this engagement.[2] Warbeck could no longer remain in Flanders. He sailed

March.

to Cork; but the Irish refused to venture their lives in his service. From Cork he passed to Scotland, and exhibited, it is said, to the king, recommendatory letters from Charles VIII. and his friend the duchess of Burgundy. James received the adventurer with kindness, saying that whosoever he might be, he should

[1] Stat. of Realm, ii. 568.

[2] Rym. xii. 579—591.

not repent of his confidence in the king of Scotland. Afterwards by advice of his council he paid to him the honours due to the prince whose character he had assumed; and to evince the sincerity of his friendship, gave to him in marriage his near relation, the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley.[1]

This sudden improvement in the fortune of the adventurer renewed the jealousy and apprehensions of the king, who had good reason to suspect the enmity of James. That prince, fifteen years of age, had been placed on the throne by the murderers of his father, a faction hostile to the interests of England; and Henry had in consequence entered into engagements with a party of the Scottish nobles, their opponents, who undertook to seize the person of the young sovereign, and to conduct him to London.[2] Now, however, Fox, bishop of Durham, was commissioned to open a negotiation, and to tempt the fidelity of James with the offer of an English princess in marriage. But he listened rather to the suggestions of resentment or ambition, and demanded as the price of his forbearance terms to which the king refused his assent. Fox was followed by Concressault, as ambassador from the French monarch, who proposed that all subjects of dispute between the two kings should be referred to the decision of his sovereign;

1491. April 16.

Dec.

[1] Polyd. 593. Hall, 38, 39. Stowe, 479. Speed, 977.

[2] Rym. xii. 440. Pink. Scot. ii. App. 1. I see no reason to charge Henry on this occasion with hostile or dishonest intentions towards the young king of Scots. The person who applied to Henry for aid was John Lord Bothwell, the favourite of the murdered monarch, and the negotiator of the intended marriages between the royal family of Scotland and the English queen dowager and her daughters.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1491.

and when that was refused, offered him one hundred thousand crowns for the person of the adventurer, to be sent a captive into France.[1] The bribe was indignantly rejected by James, who coined his plate into money, obtained a small supply from the duchess of Burgundy, and engaged to place the pretender on the throne, on condition that he should receive as the reward of his services the town of Berwick, and the sum of fifty thousand marks in two years.[2] Warbeck had mustered under his standard fourteen hundred men, outlaws from all nations; to these James added all the forces it was in his power to raise; and the combined army crossed the borders in the depth of winter, and when no preparation had been made to oppose them. They were preceded by a proclamation, in which the adventurer styled himself Richard, by the grace of God king of England and France, lord of Ireland, and prince of Wales. It narrated in general terms his escape from the Tower, his wanderings in foreign countries, the usurpation of "Henry Tydder," the attempts to debauch the fidelity of his confidants, the execution and attainder of his friends in England, and the protection which he had received from the king of Scots. He was now in England, accompanied by that monarch, for the purpose of reclaiming his right; and James, whose only object was to assist him, had engaged to retire the moment that he should be joined by a competent number of natives. He therefore called on every true Englishman to arm in his

[1] Was it Charles, who wished to get possession of Warbeck, or Henry, who made the offer through Charles? It is certain that the ambassador was sent at the instance of Henry.—Pink. Scot. ii. App. 1, ibid.

[2] All these particulars are taken from a letter of Lord Bothwell.—Ibid. Ellis, i. 25, 32.

cause; and promised to the man who should "take or "distress Henry Tydder" a reward proportioned to his condition, "so as the most low and simplest of "degree should have for his labour one thousand "pounds in money, and lands to the yearly value of "one hundred marks to him and his heirs for ever."[1] But the proclamation had no effect. The novelty of the thing had worn away, and not a sword was unsheathed in favour of the white rose. The Scots, to console their disappointment, and to repay themselves for their trouble, pillaged the country without mercy, and returned, laden with spoil, to their homes.

As soon as the intelligence of this invasion reached Henry, he ordered Daubeney, the lord chamberlain, to raise forces, summoned a great council, and afterwards a parliament, and obtained a grant of two tenths and two fifteenths.[2] In most counties the tax was levied without opposition; in Cornwall the people, inflamed by the harangues of Flammock, an attorney, and of Joseph, a farrier, flew to arms; refused to pay their money for an object which, it was pretended, did not concern them, but the natives of the northern counties; and resolved, to the number of sixteen thousand men, to demand of the king the punishment of Archbishop Morton and Sir Reginald Grey, the supposed originators of this unjustifiable impost. The misguided multitude commenced their march; at Wells they were joined by the lord Audley, who placed himself at their head, and conducted them through Salisbury and Winchester into Kent. Opposed by the gentlemen of the county, he turned towards London, and encamped on Blackheath in

1497. Feb. 13.

[1] This proclamation is printed in Henry, xii. App. i. p. 387. It is much altered by Bacon, 87.

[2] Rot. Parl. vi. 513 – 519.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1497.

sight of the capital. But Henry had by this time been joined by most of the southern nobility, and by the troops that had been previously raised against the Scots. On a Saturday (the king superstitiously believed that Saturday was his fortunate day), the lord chamberlain marched to attack the insurgents; while the earl of Oxford made a circuit to fall on their rear; and Henry with the artillery waited in St. George's Fields the event of the battle. The Cornish archers defended with obstinacy the bridge at Deptford Strand; but the moment it was forced, the insurgents fled in despair. Two thousand were killed: fifteen hundred were taken. Lord Audley lost his head; Flammock and Joseph were hanged;[1] the rest obtained a pardon from the king, and were allowed to compound for their liberty with their captors, on the best terms in their power. This lenity, so unusual in Henry, was attributed by some to policy, and a desire to attach to his cause the men of Cornwall; by others to gratitude for the life of the lord chamberlain, whom the insurgents had made prisoner at the commencement of the action, and had restored to liberty without ransom.

June 22.

June 24.

While the attention of the king was occupied by the Cornish insurgents, James again crossed the borders, and laid siege to the castle of Norham, while his light troops scoured the country as far as the Tees. But the earl of Surrey, with twenty thousand men, was now hastening towards the north. The plunderers cautiously retired as he advanced; James abandoned the siege; and Surrey retaliated on the Scottish borderers the injuries which they had in-

[1] Joseph said he cared not; for his name would be immortal.—Polyd. 594.

flicted on their English neighbours. The failure of this second expedition, with the news of the defeat of the Cornishmen, induced the king of Scots to listen to the suggestion of Don Pedro Ayala, the Spanish ambassador, who laboured with earnestness to reconcile the two monarchs. Commissioners met at Aytoun in Scotland; Fox, the chief of the English envoys, was ordered by his private instructions to insist on the delivery of Perkin, because, "though the delyver-"aunce, or the havyng of hym was of no price or "value, yet it was necessary to save the honour of "the English king: and if that could not be obtained, "that at least James should send to him an embassy, "and consent to meet him at Newcastle." To these demands the Scottish prince demurred; Ayala then came forward as mediator, and James, satisfied with his impartiality, intrusted the interest of his crown to the discretion of the Spaniard. A truce was concluded for seven years, and subsequently prolonged by Ayala to the termination of one year after the death of the survivor of the two monarchs. Still there remained some demands on the part of Henry, which James considered derogatory from his honour; but the difficulty was surmounted by the ingenuity of Ayala, who proposed that these questions should be referred to the impartial decision of the Spanish monarch.[1]

Sept. 30.

The enthusiasm which had been excited by the first appearance of Warbeck in Scotland had long been on the decline; and about the time of the meeting of the commissioners, whether it were that he saw the current of public opinion setting against him, or hoped

[1] Rym. xii. 671, 673—680. Transcripts for New Rym. 82. Polydore, 595. Hall, 45.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1497.

to profit by the troubles in Cornwall, or had received a hint from his royal protector (for all these reasons have been assigned), he departed from Scotland with four ships and six score companions. He first touched
July 26. at Cork, and solicited in vain the aid of the earl of Desmond. From Cork he directed his course across
Sept. 7. the channel to Whitsand Bay; and proceeding by land to Bodmin, unfurled the standard of Richard IV. The men of Cornwall had not acquired wisdom from their recent defeat. Three thousand offered their services to the adventurer; and that number was doubled before he reached the city of Exeter. Here he formed his army into two divisions, with which he attempted to force his way by the only entrance into the city, the east and north gates. From one he was repulsed with considerable loss; the other he reduced to ashes; but the citizens fed the fire with fresh fuel till they had dug a deep trench behind it, between themselves and the enemy. On the next morning Warbeck returned to the assault; but the loss of two hundred men, and the arrival of aid to the besieged from the country, induced him to solicit a suspension of hostilities, during which he withdrew his followers. Many of these now abandoned him; but the Cornish men advised him not to despair; and he had reached Taunton, when he was apprised of the approach of the royal army under the lord chamberlain, and lord Brooke, the steward of the household. During the
Sept. 21. day the adventurer, with great composure of countenance, made preparations for battle; but his heart failed him at the sight of the royal standard; and at midnight, leaving his followers to their fate, he rode away, with a guard of sixty men, to the sanctuary of Beaulieu, in Hampshire. In the morning the insur-

gents submitted to the royal mercy. The ringleaders were hanged: the crowd, on the arrival of Henry at Exeter, were led, bareheaded and with halters round their necks, into his presence, and discharged after a suitable admonition; and the inhabitants of the villages in which Warbeck had obtained either aid or refreshment were amerced in proportionate sums of money to the amount of ten thousand pounds. The pretender's wife, the lady Catherine Gordon, who had been left at Mount St. Michael, submitted at the first summons. When she was introduced to the king, she blushed and burst into tears:[1] but he relieved her apprehensions, and sent her to the queen, with whom she afterwards lived as an attendant, still retaining, on account of her beauty, the appellation of "the white rose," which she had originally derived from the pretensions of her husband.[2] CHAP. V. A.D. 1497. Oct. 7.

In the sanctuary of Beaulieu the fugitive had leisure to reflect on his melancholy situation. He saw the abbey constantly surrounded with a guard; he was repeatedly tempted to leave it by promises of pardon; and, after a severe struggle, resolved to throw himself on the mercy of the conqueror. The king did not violate his word, but refused to admit him into his presence. When he returned to London, Warbeck rode in his suite, surrounded by multitudes, who gazed with wonder at the man, whose claim and adventures had so long engaged their attention. He was conducted as a spectacle through the principal streets of Oct. 5. Nov. 27.

[1] Magno cum rubore et obortis lacrymis.—André, MS. Domit. A. xviii. See Ellis, Letters, i. 34—7; Polyd. 597.

[2] Fab. 531. Hall, 46, 47. Bacon, 104. "The white rose" was afterwards married to Sir Matthew Cradock, and was buried with him in the church of Swansea, in Wales, where their tomb and epitaph are still to be seen.—Histor. Doubts, addition.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1497. the city; ordered to confine himself within the precincts of the palace: and repeatedly examined before a board of commissioners, as to his parentage, his instructors, and his associates. Whatever disclosures he made, were kept secret; but he grew weary of his confinement in the palace, and at the end of six months contrived to elude the vigilance of his keepers.

1498. June 8. The alarm was instantly given; patrols watched every road to the coast; and the fugitive, in despair of success, surrendered himself to the prior of the monastery at Shene. The monk encouraged him with the hopes of pardon, and by his solicitations extorted from the king a promise to spare the life of the suppliant.

June 14. But he was compelled to stand a whole day in the

June 15. stocks at Westminster Hall, and the next in Cheapside; and on both occasions to read to the people a confession which he had signed with his own hand. In this barren and unsatisfactory document he acknowledged that he was a native of Tournay, the son of John Osbeck and Catherine di Faro; gave the names and professions of his relations, and of the persons with whom he had lived at Antwerp, Middleburgh, and Lisbon; and stated that on his arrival at Cork he was taken first for Simnel, who had personated the earl of Warwick, then for an illegitimate son of Richard III., and lastly for the duke of York, the second son of Edward IV.; that he was invited into France by Charles VIII.; "from France he "went into Ireland, from Ireland into Scotland, and "so into England."[1] It is plain that this confession

[1] Hall, 49, 50. Grafton, 929. André, Domit. A. xviii. André was pensioned by Henry.—Rym. xii. 643. His evidence (for he says the confession was printed by order of the king) proves its authenticity, which Mr. Laing has denied, because it is not mentioned by Fabyan or Polydore.—Hen. xii. 444.

was composed from the disclosures which he had previously made. It describes with minuteness his parentage and original occupation, points which Henry wished to impress on the minds of the people, but was silent on subjects which it might have been unpleasant or impolitic to disclose, his transactions with foreign princes, and the assurances of support which he had received from native subjects. After suffering his punishment he was committed to the Tower.[1]

This seems to have been the age of intrigue and imposture. From the capture of Simnel to the appearance of Warbeck, Henry had been kept in constant alarm by repeated attempts in favour of the earl of Warwick. About the close of 1498 a plan had been adopted to liberate that prince from prison; but it failed through the ignorance of the conspirators, who mistook the place of confinement.[2] The following year a new plot was contrived in the council of the king of France, who sought to divert Henry from the threatened invasion of his dominions. That monarch had expressed his regret that he had ever granted assistance to the usurper of the rights of the house of York, and offered to the friends of the earl of Warwick ships, money, and troops, to place him on the throne of his ancestors. Letters were written to the retainers of his father, the late duke of Clarence; lady Warwick was solicited to favour the enterprise; and an invitation was sent to the most distinguished of the Yorkists to repair to France and take the

[1] Hall, ibid. Fab. 532. Stowe, 481. From some imaginary improbabilities in the confession, it has been inferred that it was a mere fiction invented by Henry and his ministers. I should have thought that they might have invented a fiction of that description without crowding it with improbabilities.

[2] Rot. Parl. vi. 437

CHAP. V. A.D. 1498.

command.[1] When this attempt also failed, Warbeck put forth his claim as the duke of York; and as long as he was able to prosecute it, the earl of Warwick seemed to be forgotten. Now that Warbeck was in prison, the rights of the earl were again brought forward; and a person of the name of Ralph Wulford undertook to personate the young prince. He was taught to act his part by Patrick, an Augustinian friar, and chose the county of Kent for the theatre on which he should make his first appearance. As a preparatory step, a report was circulated of the death of Warwick; after a short interval the pretender whispered in the ears of a few confidants that he was the earl; and soon afterwards his instructor published to the world the important secret in a sermon. It is difficult to conceive on what they could ground their hope of success. Both were immediately apprehended. The friar was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; Wulford paid with his life the forfeit of his temerity.

1499. March.

The real earl of Warwick, and the pretended duke of York, were now fellow-prisoners in the Tower. They soon contracted a mutual friendship, wept over their common misfortune, and whether it originated with themselves or was suggested to them by others,

August 2.

adopted a plan for their escape. Four of the warders were gained to murder the governor, and conduct the captives to a place of security, where, if we may believe the records of their trials, Warbeck was to be again proclaimed by the title of Richard IV., and Warwick was to summon the retainers of his father to the standard of the new king. Warbeck was in-

[1] Rot. Parl. 456. The token by which the conspirators knew each other was a particular squeeze of the thumb.—Ibid.

[2] Hall, 50.

dicted in Westminster Hall, as a foreigner, guilty of acts of treason since his landing in England. He received sentence of death, and at the place of execution affirmed on the word of a dying man the truth of every particular contained in his original confession. With him suffered his first adherent O'Water; and both, expressing their regret for the imposture, asked forgiveness of the king. Before their punishment the earl of Warwick was arraigned at the bar of the house of lords. Of his own accord he pleaded guilty; the earl of Oxford as lord steward pronounced judgment; and after a few days Henry signed the warrant for the execution of the last legitimate descendant of the Plantagenets, whose pretensions could excite the jealousy of the house of Tudor.[1]

CHAP. V. A.D. 1499. — Nov. 16. Nov. 21.

Warwick owed his death to the restless officiousness of his friends, who by repeated attempts had convinced Henry that the existence of the earl was incompatible with his own safety. Still it will be difficult to clear the king from the guilt of shedding innocent blood. This victim of royal suspicion had been confined from childhood for no other crime than his birth. Certainly he was justified in attempting to recover his liberty. Had he even been guilty of the other part of the charge, his youth, his ignorance, his simplicity, and the peculiar circumstances of his situation, ought to have saved him from capital punishment.[2] The whole nation lamented his fate; and to remove the odium from the king, a report, probably false, was circulated that Ferdinand of Spain had refused to bestow his daughter Catherine on the prince of Wales as long as so near a

[1] Hall, 51. Bacon, 110, 111. Rot. Parl. vi. 535.

[2] I see nothing in the ancient authorities to prove that he was an "idiot."

CHAP. V. A.D. 1499.

claimant of the house of York was alive. Catherine herself had been told of the report, and in the following reign was heard to observe that she could never expect much happiness from her union with the family of Tudor, if that union had been purchased at the price of royal and innocent blood.[1]

From this period the ambition of Henry was no more alarmed by pretenders to the crown, nor his avarice distressed by the expense of foreign expeditions. The principal events of his reign during the ten years of tranquillity which preceded his death, may be comprised under the two heads, of his treaties with other powers, and his expedients to amass money.

I. 1. Henry was not less careful than the French monarchs to preserve the alliance between the two crowns. His object was to insure the payment of the annual pension secured to him by the treaty of Estaples: theirs to afford him no pretext to oppose the progress of their arms in the conquest of Italy. In 1494 Charles had poured a numerous army over the Alps into the plains of Lombardy; the native princes yielded to the pressure of the torrent; and in a few months Naples was converted into a province of the French monarchy. But it was lost with the same rapidity with which it had been won. The pope, the king of the Romans, the king of Castile, the duke of Milan, and the republic of Venice entered into a league, by which they guaranteed to each other their respective dominions; and Charles was compelled to abandon his conquest, and to fight his way through his enemies, that he might return to his native kingdom. The next year Henry acceded to the general

1495. Feb. 22.

March 31.

[1] Hall, 51. Bacon, 112. See Note (D) at the end of the volume.

confederacy, a measure which might intimidate the French king, and by intimidating, cause him to be more punctual in the discharge of his pecuniary obligations. In 1498 Charles died, and was succeeded by Louis XII. That prince, who inherited the passion of his predecessor for the conquest of Naples, cheerfully ratified the treaty of Estaples, bound himself by the most solemn oaths to pay the remainder of the debt, and signed Henry's favourite stipulation, that if a traitor or rebel to either prince should seek refuge in the dominions of the other, he should be delivered up within twenty days at the requisition of the offended party.[1] April 7.

2. The truces between England and Scotland, though frequently renewed and enforced with menaces and punishments, were but ill observed by the fierce and turbulent inhabitants of the borders. Soon after the last pacification, the garrison of Norham grew jealous of the repeated visits which they received from their Scottish neighbours. One day a serious affray was the consequence; and the strangers, after losing some of their fellows, fled for protection to the nearest post of their countrymen. The intelligence was received with indignation by James, who instantly despatched a herald to Henry, to announce that the truce was at an end; and a war must have ensued had not the English monarch been as phlegmatic as the Scottish was irritable. Fox, Bishop of Durham, to whom the castle belonged, first wrote to James, and afterwards visited him at the abbey of Melrose; and so successful were the address and eloquence of that prelate, that the king was not only appeased, but offered, what he had formerly refused, to marry Margaret, the eldest 1495. Nov. 1496. Sept. 2

[1] Rym. xii. 638—642, 681—695.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1496.

daughter of Henry.[1] By the English prince the offer was most joyfully accepted; and when some of his council expressed a fear that then, in failure of the male line, England might hereafter become an appendage to the Scottish crown, "No," he replied, "Scotland "will become an appendage to the English; for the "smaller must follow the larger kingdom." The event has verified the prediction; and the marriage has been productive of more substantial benefits than Henry could probably foresee. It has not only united the two crowns on one head; it has also contributed to unite the two kingdoms into one empire.[2]

It would be tedious to narrate the repeated and protracted negotiations respecting this marriage. The parties were related within the prohibited degrees, and the princess was not of sufficient age to make a contract valid in law. Both these impediments were removed by a papal dispensation. Henry consented to give with his daughter the paltry sum of thirty thousand nobles, to be paid in three yearly instalments; and James to put her in legal possession of lands to the annual value of two thousand pounds sterling, reserving to himself the right of receiving the rents during his life, but with the obligation of defraying the expenses of her household, and of paying to her yearly five hundred marks in money.[3] The parties were now solemnly affianced to each other in the queen's chamber, the earl of Bothwell acting as proxy for James; tournaments were performed for two days in honour of the ceremony; and to exhilarate the

1502. Jan. 24.

Jan. 29.

[1] Hall, 48. [2] Bacon, 119.

[3] Rym. xii. 787—793. As the noble was 6s. 8d., the whole portion amounted to no more than 10,000*l.* The noble was also equal to a Scottish pound.

populace, twelve hogsheads of claret were tapped in the streets, and twelve bonfires kindled at night.[1] At the same time was concluded, after one hundred and seventy years of war, or of truces little better than war, a treaty of perpetual peace between the two kingdoms, accompanied with the usual clause respecting the surrender of traitors, and a promise that neither prince would grant letters of protection to the subjects of the other without having previously obtained his permission. James, however, was careful that his new engagements should not interfere with the ancient alliance between Scotland and France. When he swore to observe the treaty, he had given to Henry the usual title of king of France; but he instantly arose, protested that he had done it inadvertently, and repeated the oath with the omission of that word; and when he was requested by his father-in-law not to renew the French league, he acquiesced for the time, but reserved to himself the power of renewing it whenever he should be so advised.[2]

At the time of the contract the princess was but twelve years of age, and James had consented that she should remain twenty months longer under the roof of her royal parents. At length she departed from her grandmother's palace at Colliweston, with a long train of ladies and gentlemen, who accompanied her a mile, kissed her, and returned to the court. The earl of

1503. July 8.

[1] The form was as follows: "I, Patricke, earl of Bothwel, procurator, &c., contract matrimony with thee Margaret, and take thee into and for the wieffe and spous of my soveraigne lord James king of Scotland, and all uthir for thee, as procurator forsaid, forsake, induring his and thine lives naturall, and thereto as procurator forsaid, I plight, and gives thee his faythe and truthe." Henry gave to the ambassadors at their departure presents to the value of several thousand pounds.—Lel. Coll. iv. 258—264.

[2] Rym. xii. 793—804; xiii. 12, 43—47.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1503.

Kent, with the lords Strange, Hastings, and Willoughby, escorted her as far as York. She rode on a palfrey attended by three footmen, and was followed by a magnificent litter drawn by two horses, in which she made her entry into the different towns. In her suite were a company of players and another of min-

July 17.

strels. From York she proceeded under the care of the earls of Surrey and Northumberland to Lam bertonkirk, where she was received by the Scottish

Aug. 1, 7, 8.

nobility. James repeatedly visited her on her progress; and on her arrival in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, mounted her palfrey, and rode with her behind him into his capital. The marriage ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Glasgow, and "the Englishe lords and ladyes," says Hall, "returned "into their countrey, gevyinge more prayse to the "manhoode, than to the good maner, and nurture of "Scotland."[1]

3. Henry had always cultivated with particular solicitude the alliance of Ferdinand king of Castile and Arrogan; and the more strongly to cement their friendship had proposed a marriage between his eldest son, Arthur prince of Wales, and Catherine, the fourth daughter of the Castilian monarch. A preliminary

1496. Oct. 1.

treaty on this subject was concluded as early as the year 1492; it was followed in 1496 by another, according to which Ferdinand promised to give to the princess a portion of two hundred thousand crowns; and Henry engaged that his son should endow her with one-third of his income at present, and one-third of the income of the crown, if he should live to wear it.[2] The

[1] Lel. Coll. iv. 265—300. Hall, 56.

[2] Rym. xii. 658—666. The Spanish crown was worth 4s. 2d. English.—Ibid. Transcripts for N. Rym. 80.

marriage was postponed on account of the youth of Arthur; but when he had completed his twelfth year a dispensation was obtained to enable him to make the contract; and the marriage ceremony was performed in the chapel of his manor of Bewdley, where Catherine was represented by her proxy the Spanish ambassador.[1] She was nine or ten months older than Arthur; and when the latter had completed his fourteenth year, Henry demanded her of her parents. She parted from them at Grenada, traversed Spain to Corunna, and landed at Plymouth, after a wearisome and boisterous voyage. The king met her at Dogmersfield,[2] where she renewed to Arthur the contract which had been made by her proxy; the marriage ceremony was performed in St. Paul's; and at the door of the cathedral, and in the presence of the multitude, Arthur endowed her with one-third of his property.[3] The king spared no expense to testify his joy by disguisings, tournaments, and banquets; and several of the nobility, to flatter the monarch, indulged

A.D. 1499. —

May 19.

1501. May 21.

Oct. 2.

Nov. 6.

Nov. 14

[1] Rym. xii. 754. As almost three years elapsed between the treaty of marriage and the contract, this delay has been urged as a proof that Ferdinand would not consent to it till he was assured that the life of the earl of Warwick, the real heir, would be taken by Henry. But the fact is, that this was the earliest period stipulated in the treaty (Rym. xii. 663), which provided that, as soon as Arthur had completed his twelfth year, the parents might, if they pleased apply to the pope for a dispensation.

[2] An unexpected difficulty occurred on the road to Dogmersfield. The prothonotary of Spain met the king, and told him that the Spanish noblemen who had charge of the princess had been charged by their sovereign that "they should in no manner of wise permit "their lady to have any meeting, ne to use any manner of communi- "cation, nither to receive any companye, untill the inception of the "very daye of the solemnisation of the marriadge." But Henry declared that he would be master in his own kingdom; he entered her chamber, introduced his son to her, and caused them to renew the former contract.—Lel. Coll. v. 352—355.

[3] Rym. xii. 780.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1501.

in a magnificence which proved ruinous to their families.[1] The abilities of Arthur, the sweetness of his temper, and his proficiency in learning,[2] had gained him the affection of all who knew him; and his bride by her beauty, modesty, and accomplishments, became the object of general admiration. The castle of Ludlow, in Shropshire, was assigned for their residence; their court represented in miniature the court of their royal parent; and the prince amidst his vassals was instructed by his council in the rudiments of government.

1502. April 2.

But the weakness of his constitution sank under the rigour of the season, perhaps under the prevailing epidemic, called the sweating sickness; and the hopes of the nation were unexpectedly blighted by his premature death in the fourth month after his marriage.[3] The intelligence of this event

[1] Those who are desirous of knowing what were the fashionable amusements of our ancestors may read the account of the festivities on this occasion added by Hearn to Leland's Collectanea, v. 356—373.

[2] Besides the most eminent grammarians, he had studied "in "poetrie Homer, Virgil, Lucan, Ovid, Silius, Plautus, and Terence; "in oratorie, Tullies offices, epistles, paradoxes, and Quintilian; in "historie, Thucydides, Livie, Cæsar's Commentaries, Suetonius, "Tacitus, Plinius, Valerius Maximus, Salust, and Eusebius. Where-"in we have been particular, to signifie what authors were then "thought fit to be elementary and rudimentall unto princes." Speed (p. 988), who quotes a manuscript of André, the preceptor of Arthur.

[3] The intelligence was first opened to the king by his confessor. He sent for the queen, who seeing him oppressed with sorrow, "besought his grace that he would first after God remember the "weale of his owne noble person, the comfort of his realme and of her. "She then saied, that my ladie his mother had never no more "children but him onely, and that God by his grace had ever pre-"served him, and brought him where that he was. Over that, "howe that God had left him yet a fayre prince, two fayre princesses; "and that God is where he was, and we are both young ynoughe; "and that the prudence and wisdom of his grace spronge over all "Christendome, so that it should please him to take this according "thereunto. Then the king thanked her of her good comfort.

alarmed Ferdinand and Isabella, the parents of the young widow. Anxious to preserve the friendship of England, as a counterpoise to the enmity of France, they hastened to propose a marriage between their daughter and her brother-in-law, Henry, now apparent heir to the throne. The English monarch affected to receive the communication with indifference; and suspended his assent, that he might ascertain whether a more profitable bargain might not be made with some other court; while, on the other hand, the Spaniard, to quicken the determination, sought to alarm the avarice of his ally, by requiring the immediate return of Catherine, with the restoration of the one hundred thousand crowns, the half of her marriage portion, which had already been paid. The negotiation at length was opened; but it proved as difficult to wring money from Ferdinand, as to satisfy the expectations of Henry; and a year elapsed before it was finally agreed that the marriage should be contracted within two months after the arrival of a dispensation from the pope; that it should be solemnized

A.D. 1502.

1503. June 23.

"After that she was departed and come to her owne chamber, "natural and motherly remembrance of that great losse smote her "so sorrowfull to the hart, that those that were about her were "faine to send for the king to comfort her. Then his grace of true "gentle and faithfull love in good hast came and relieved her, "and showed her how wise counsell she had given him before: and "he for his parte would thanke God for his sonn, and would she "should doe in likewise." I have transcribed this account of Henry's conduct on so interesting an occasion, as it appears to me to do away the charge which has been brought against him of treating Elizabeth with indifference and neglect. I shall add, that I have not met with any good proof of Henry's dislike to Elizabeth, so often mentioned by later writers. In the MS. of André, and the journals of the herald, they appear as if they entertained a real affection for each other, and Henry's privy purse expenses show that he often made to her presents of "money, jewels, frontlets, and other orna- "ments, and also paid her debts."—See Excerpt. Hist. p. 86.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1503.

when the young prince had completed his fourteenth year; and that Ferdinand should previously transmit to London another sum of one hundred thousand crowns, the remaining half of the portion of Catherine. The dispensation was obtained; the parties were contracted to each other;[1] but the Spanish monarch either could not or would not advance the money; and his English brother cared little for the delay. The princess, a widow, and in his custody, was an hostage for the goodwill of her father; and by retaining this hold on the hopes and fears of the Spaniard, he expected to extort from him concessions of still greater importance. On the day before the young Henry completed his fourteenth year, the canonical age of puberty, and the time fixed for the solemnization of the marriage, he was compelled to protest in due form, that he had neither done, nor meant to do any thing which could render the contract made during his nonage binding in law. It might be thought that this protestation was equivalent to a refusal; but the king assured Ferdinand that his only object was to free his son from all previous obligation; he still wished to marry Catherine, but was also free to marry any other woman.[2] Thus while he

Dec. 26.

1505. June 28.

[1] Rymer, xiii. 81, 83, 89, 114.

[2] El se tenia por libre para casarse con quien quisiese.—Zurita, vi. 193. En Zaragoza, 1610. The Contract is in Collier, ii. rec. There was nothing very singular in this revocation. A valid contract of marriage could not be made before the male was fourteen, the female twelve years old; but a precontract might be made at an earlier age, which as long as it remained in force, disabled each party from marrying any other person; either, however, was at liberty on coming to age, to annul the precontract without seeking the consent of the other. Hence it was not uncommon for a parent or guardian to instruct the party for whom he was interested to seize the first opportunity of revoking the precontract, not with the fixed intention of preventing the marriage, but that he might extort more advantageous terms from the other party, or might gain time

awakened the fears, he was careful to nourish the hopes of the Spaniard; an expedient by which he flattered himself that he should compel that monarch to submit to his pleasure in two other projects which he had now formed.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1503. Feb. 11.

About ten months after the death of Prince Arthur,[1] his mother Elizabeth died at the age of thirty-seven. Henry's mourning might be sincere; but it was short, and he quickly consoled himself for his loss by calculating the pecuniary advantages which he might derive from a second marriage. The late king of Naples had bequeathed an immense property to his widow; her presumed riches offered irresistible attractions to the heart of the English monarch; and three private gentlemen were commissioned to procure an introduction to the queen under the pretext of delivering to her a letter from the dowager princess of Wales. In their report to the king they praised her person, her disposition, and her acquirements, but added the unwelcome intelligence that the reigning king had refused to fulfil the testament of his predecessor. Henry's passion was instantly extinguished;

to avail himself of a more eligible match, if any such should chance to offer itself. In the present case the young Henry would end his fourteenth year on the morning of the 28th of June, 1505, when Catherine would be entitled by the treaty to claim the solemnization of their nuptials. On the 27th, therefore, he appeared in the court of the bishop of Winchester, and stated that he was now at, or upon, the age of puberty, and in order that he might not be hereafter supposed to have given his consent to the marriage hitherto intended between him and the princess Catherine, either by his silence or any of the other ways specified in the law, he did then and there revoke the former contract, and affirm that he did not intend by any thing which he had done, or might do, to confirm it. He was now by law at liberty to marry any other person; but the subsequent conduct of his father shows that no such marriage was in actual contemplation.

[1] The expense of her funeral amounted to 2,832*l.* 7s. 3d.—Excerpt. Hist. 130.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1503.

he cast his eyes on another rich widow, Margaret, the duchess of Savoy, and from an accident which he attributed to his good fortune, he derived a strong hope of succeeding in his suit.

1504. Nov. 26.

On the death of Isabella, queen of Castile, which crown she held in her own right, her husband Ferdinand surrendered the sceptre of Castile to his daughter Juana, the wife of the archduke Philip, but claimed the regency in virtue of the will of his late consort. The new king and queen in the beginning of 1506

1506. Jan. 10.

left the Netherlands to take possession of the Castilian throne; but the weather was unfavourable; and, after struggling with adverse winds for more than a fortnight, they sought shelter in the harbour of Falmouth. It was in vain that their council objected. They went on shore in search of refreshment, and Henry grasped at the opportunity of deriving advantage from their indiscretion. In terms which admitted of no refusal, he invited them to his court; detained them during three months in splendid captivity, and extorted from them several valuable concessions as the price of their enlargement. 1. Margaret of Savoy was the sister

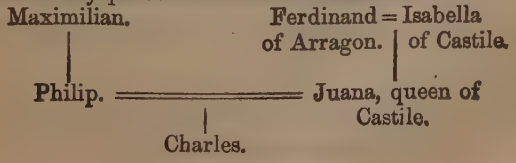
March 20.

of Philip, and that prince was compelled to agree to a marriage between her and Henry, and to fix the amount of her portion at three hundred thousand crowns, each crown being equal in value to four shillings, English; of which sum one hundred thousand crowns should be paid in August, and the remainder by equal instalments within six years. Margaret was in the annual receipt of fifty thousands crowns arising from her two doweries, as the widow of John, prince of Spain, and of Philibert, duke of Savoy. This sum the king required to be settled on himself for his own use and benefit, while the princess would be amply

indemnified by the income which she would receive as queen of England.[1] 2. Henry had formerly obtained the consent of Maximilian that Charles, the infant son of Philip, should marry Mary, the youngest daughter of the English king. To this the captive prince, though he had formerly refused, now gave his assent.[2] 3. A new treaty of commerce was negotiated between the subjects of the two kings, as prejudicial to the interests of the Flemish, as it was favourable to those of the English merchants. 4. The king lent to the archduke on certain securities the sum of 138,000*l.* towards the expense of his voyage to Spain, Lastly, Henry demanded the surrender of an individual whom he had long considered the most dangerous enemy ot the house of Lancaster. This was Edmund, second son to the late duke of Suffolk. John earl of Lincoln, the eldest son, had fallen at the battle of Stoke, and had been attainted by parliament. When the duke himself died, Edmund claimed the honours and estate of his father; but Henry persisted in consider-

[1] Rymer, xiii. 126—157. Chron. Catal. 86—92.

[2] Philip had previously engaged to marry Charles to Claude, daughter of Louis XII. of France. After Philip's death (25th Sept. 1506), Maximilian, fearing that Ferdinand might keep possession of Castile to the prejudice of his grandson, urged Henry to contract the young princes to each other, and then demand the regency of Castile, as guardian to his son-in-law.—Zurita, vi. 163. He was deterred by his desire of marrying Juana; but afterwards, a few months before his death, in defiance of the objections of Ferdinand, proceeded to the contract with the approbation of Maximilian and Margaret, Dec. 15, 1508.—Rym. xiii. 236. Perhaps the following table may prove of use to the reader:—



CHAP. V. A.D. 1506.

ing him as the heir of his attainted brother, maintained that he had no claim to the forfeited property, and compelled him to accept as a boon a small portion of the patrimony of his fathers, and to be content with the inferior title of earl.[1] It was impossible to ascribe the king's conduct to any other motive than a desire to humble a rival family; and the earl by his ungovernable passions soon involved himself in difficulties and danger. He had killed a man who had offended him, was arraigned as a murderer at the King's Bench, and commanded to plead the king's pardon. His pride could not brook this indignity; and the court of his aunt, the duchess of Burgundy, received the fugitive. Henry, who, on what grounds I know not, is represented as desirous to inveigle him into greater indiscretions, prevailed on him to return. At the marriage of the prince of Wales, he vied in the splendour of his equipage, and his attentions to the royal family, with the most opulent and favoured of the nobility; and then, to the astonishment of the public, fled a second time, with his brother Richard, to the court of his aunt. Henry immediately foreboded an insurrection. Sir Robert Curson was despatched to act the part of a spy under the mask of friendship; and in a few weeks the earl's brother William de la Pole, the lord Courtenay, who had married one of the late queen's sisters, Sir William Wyndham, and Sir James Tyrrel, with a few others, were apprehended.[2] To the two first no other crime could be objected than their relationship to the fugitive; the other two were condemned and executed

1499. July 1.

1502. March.

May 6.

[1] Rot. Parl. vi. 474.

[2] It was on this occasion that Tyrrel confessed the murder of Edward V. and his brother in the Tower.—More, 68.

for having favoured the escape of the king's enemy; and all were afterwards attainted by parliament.[1] By this act of vigour the conspiracy, if any conspiracy existed, was suppressed in its birth; and Suffolk, left in extreme penury by the death of his aunt, after wandering for a time in Germany, had been permitted by the archduke Philip to reside in his dominions. A.D. 1502.

Henry now demanded of that prince the surrender of the fugitive. It was in vain that he pleaded his honour; he was given to know that he was himself a captive, and could only purchase his liberty by consenting to the captivity of the earl. Compelled to yield, he exacted from Henry a promise that he would respect the life of Suffolk, and on the surrender of the fugitive was permitted to prosecute his voyage. The earl was sent to the Tower. Though Henry thirsted for his blood, he feared to violate his engagement with Philip; but before his death, he left an order for the execution of his victim as a legacy to the filial piety of his successor.[2] 1506. March 16

The Spanish prince, on his return to his own country, honourably fulfilled his engagements with Henry. To rid himself of them, he might have pleaded that they had been contracted when he was actually in duresse; but he ratified them at Valladolid, and signed several bonds, charging himself and his dominions with the payment of the sums specified, and subjecting himself,

[1] Rot. Parl. 545. The forfeiture was to take place on the 1st of July, 1499. If then, as our writers say, Wyndham and Tyrrel were executed for aiding the flight of Suffolk, it must have been on the first, and not the second time that he fled to the continent. I may remark that the charge of treason against them is laid on the first of July, and that against the earl of Warwick and Warbeck on the second of August of the same year.—Ibid. Was there any connection between the two?

[2] Hall, 54, 55. Speed, 990—994. Fab. 533.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1506.

in default of payment, to the penalties of excommunication.[1] He, however, was only one of the parties interested in the marriage of his sister Margaret. The consent of Maximilian and Ferdinand was also requisite; but while Henry was negotiating with these princes, Philip died, and his widow Juana, in her own right queen of Castile, appeared to the imagination of the king a more desirable bride than Margaret. There were, indeed, two obstacles to be surmounted which would have deterred any other suitor. Juana laboured under a derangement of intellect, which rendered her incapable of giving her consent; and Ferdinand, her guardian, would naturally oppose any measure which might deprive him of the government of her dominions. But Henry was not discouraged. He relinquished the pursuit of Margaret; contended that the malady of Juana was only temporary, occasioned by the bad usage which she had received from her last husband, and trusted to his own ingenuity to remove the objections of her father. That monarch, unwilling to irritate a prince whom it was his interest to flatter, had recourse to delay; he represented the present state of his daughter's mind; he promised that if, on the recovery of her reason, she could be induced to marry, the king of England should be her husband. But Henry was suspicious of the king's sincerity; he insisted that his ambassador Astill should speak to the queen in private, and receive an answer from her own mouth; and apprehensive that his son's attachment to Catherine might lead to a clandestine union, he forbade them to see each other, treated the princess with severity, and endeavoured to subdue the obstinacy of the father

Sept. 23.

[1] Chron. Catal. 93, 94.

by punishing the innocence of his daughter.[1] However, the malady of Juana experienced no abatement. Henry desisted from his hopeless pursuit, and, accepting the apologies of Ferdinand for his delay in the payment of the marriage portion, concluded with him a new treaty, by which the Spanish monarch was bound to transmit to London one hundred thousand crowns in four half-yearly instalments, and Henry to permit the solemnization of the marriage on the arrival of the last. Two were received by the king at the appointed time: he died before the arrival of the third.[2] Perhaps I should apologise to the reader for this long and tedious detail; but the important controversy to which the marriage of Henry and Catherine gave birth, and the still more important consequences to which that controversy led, have imparted an interest to every circumstance which originally impeded or facilitated their union.

1508. April.

September

II. While the king sought by foreign alliances to add to the security of his family, he was equally solicitous to amass riches at the expense of his subjects. What they termed avarice, he denominated

[1] Catherine, in her letters to her father, professed to have no great inclination for a second marriage in England, but requested that her sufferings and wishes might be kept out of view. No gustaba la princesa de casar segunda vez en Inglaterra. Asi le dio a entender al rey su padre: euando le supplicaba en lo que tocaba a su casamiento no mirase su gusto ni comodidad, sino solo lo que a el y sus cosas conveniese bien.—Mariana, Hist. l. xx. c. 17.

[2] The English historians seem entirely ignorant of the causes which for so many years delayed the marriage of Henry and Catherine. For the preceding narrative I have had recourse to the Spanish historians Zurita and Mariana, and have compared their statements with extracts from the original documents preserved among the records at Simancas, which have been copied for me by a friend in Spain. The receipts for the money in 1508 are signed by both Henries, the father and son. The third payment was made to the young king in May, and the last in September, 1509.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1508.

policy; observing that to deprive his adversaries of their wealth was to take from them the means of annoyance. But Henry's rapacity was not very scrupulous in its selection: it fed with equal appetite on his friends and his enemies. The men whom he employed as the agents of oppression were Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, both lawyers, of inventive heads and unfeeling hearts; who despoiled the subject to fill the king's coffers, and despoiled the king to enrich themselves. The following are the chief of the numerous expedients by which they extorted money. 1. In the lapse of centuries the rigour of the feudal tenures had been gradually relaxed, and during the civil dissensions of the two roses many prestations had been suffered to sink into desuetude. But these ministers are said to have revived all the dormant claims of the crown; exacted with severity the payment of arrears; discovered and enforced forgotten causes of forfeiture; and extended the feudal services to estates holden by different tenures. 2. The ancient statutes had created a multitude of offences punishable by fine, imprisonment and forfeiture, and had enacted the same penalties against officers who had failed in the execution of their duty. Under these two heads hosts of informers were employed to cull out fit subjects for prosecution; and when the real or supposed delinquent was brought before Empson or Dudley (they were barons of the Exchequer), unless he consented to pay an exorbitant fine, he was committed to prison. New offers of composition were made to him, while he lingered in custody; on his refusal, judgment was passed against him, sometimes without any trial by jury,[1] sometimes according to the verdict

[1] By a statute of the 11th of this reign, c. 3, udges of assize and

of a jury previously packed for the purpose. 3. Outlawry was the general consequence of non-appearance in personal actions; but was always reversed, on the payment by the party of a moderate fine. These harpies had the ingenuity to multiply such proceedings, and the cruelty to wring from their victims the full amount of a year's income. By these arts and others of a similar description, every class of subjects was harassed and impoverished, while a constant stream of wealth passed through the hands of Empson and Dudley, of which a part only was suffered to reach the treasury; the remainder they diverted to their own coffers.[1]

If we may credit a story related by Bacon, Henry was not less adroit, nor less unfeeling, than his two ministers. Of the partisans of the house of Lancaster, there was no one whose exertions or sacrifices had been greater than those of the earl of Oxford. That nobleman on one occasion had entertained the king at his castle of Henningham; and when Henry was ready to depart, a number of servants and retainers in the earl's livery were drawn up in two lines, to do honour to the sovereign. "My lord," said the king, "I have heard much of your hospitality, but I see "it is greater than the speech. These handsome "gentlemen and yeomen that I see on each side of "me are surely your menial servants?" The earl replied with a smile, "That, may it please your grace, "were not for mine ease. They are most of them

justices of peace had power in informations for the king before them to hear and determine all offences and contempts against any statute unrepealed. It was repealed in the 1st of Henry VIII.—Stat. of Realm, iii. 3.

[1] Fabyan, 534—536. Hall, 57, 58. Bacon, 119—121.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1508.

"mine retainers, come to do me service at a time like "this, and chiefly to see your grace." Henry affected to start, and returned: "By my faith, my lord, I "thank you for your good cheer; but I may not "endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My "attorney must speak with you." He alluded to the statute against retainers, which had been passed in his first parliament; and the earl for his misplaced generosity was condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds; an almost incredible sum, if we consider the relative value of money at that period.[1]

The king had for years been visited with regular fits of the gout. His strength visibly wasted away, and every spring the most serious apprehensions were entertained for his life. Whatever might be the hopes with which he flattered himself, his preachers did not allow him to be ignorant of his danger. From the pulpit they admonished him of the extortion of his officers, and exhorted him to prepare for death by making reparation to the innocent sufferers. Henry does not appear to have been displeased with their freedom. He forgave all offences against the crown, with the exception of felony and murder; satisfied the creditors of all persons confined for debts under the amount of forty shillings; and ordered strict justice to be done to all who had been injured by the tyranny of the ministers. The prosecutions, however, were soon revived; it was contended that no injustice could be committed where the conviction was procured by due process of law; and several of the most respectable citizens in London were heavily amerced, and in default of payment thrown into prison. Thus Empson

[1] Bacon, 121.

and Dudley continued to pursue their iniquitous career till they were arrested by the death of the king, who in the spring of 1509 sunk under the violence of his disease. The anxiety of his mind is strongly depicted in the provisions of his will; but he might easily have foreseen that his injunctions for the reparation of injuries would be despised or eluded by a young and thoughtless successor.[1] He left three children; a son Henry, who inherited his father's crown, and two daughters, Margaret, married to James king of Scots, and Mary, afterwards the wife of Louis XII. king of France.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1508.

1509. April 21.

To Henry by his contemporaries was allotted the praise of political wisdom. He seems, indeed, to have been formed by nature for the circumstances in which accident had placed him. With a mind dark and mistrustful, tenacious of its own secrets and adroit in divining the secrets of others, capable of employing the most unprincipled agents, and of descending to the meanest artifices, he was able to unravel the plots, to detect the impostures, and to defeat the projects of all his opponents. But there was nothing open in his friendship, nothing generous in his enmity. His suspicions kept him always on his guard; he watched with jealousy the conduct of his very ministers, and never unbosomed himself with freedom even to his consort or his mother. It was his delight to throw an air of mystery over the most ordinary transactions; nor would pride or policy allow him, even when it appeared essential to his interests, to explain away the doubts, or satisfy the curiosity of his subjects. The consequence was, that

[1] This singular will has been published by Mr. Astle.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1509.

no one knew what to believe or what to expect. "All things," says Sir Thomas More, "were so "covertly demeaned, one thing pretended and ano- "ther meant, that there was nothing so plain and "openly proved, but that yet, for the common custom "of close and covert dealing, men had it ever in- "wardly suspect, as many well counterfeited jewels "make the true mistrusted."[1]

He appears to have been the first of our kings since the accession of Henry III. who confined his expenses within the limits of his income.[2] But the civil wars had swept away those crowds of annuitants and creditors that formerly used to besiege the doors of the exchequer; and the revenue of the crown came to him free from incumbrances, and augmented by forfeitures. Hence he was enabled to reign without the assistance of parliament; and, if he occasionally summoned the two houses, it was only when a decent pretext for demanding a supply offered to his avarice a bait which it could not refuse.[3] He had, however, little to apprehend from the freedom or the remonstrances of these assemblies. That spirit of resistance

[1] More, 67.

[2] In his first parliament funds were placed at his disposal for the discharge of the yearly expenses of his household, estimated at 14,000*l.*, and of his wardrobe, estimated at 2,000*l.*—Rot. Parl. vi. 299, also 497. By the treasurer's account of the last year delivered to Henry VIII. the expenses of the household amounted to 12,759*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.*, and of the wardrobe to 1,715*l.* 19. 11*d.*—See Henry, xii. App. No. iv.

[3] During the last thirteen years of his reign he called but one parliament, in 1504. His object was to demand an equivalent in lieu of two reasonable aids due by the feudal customs for having made his eldest son a knight, and married his eldest daughter. It was, however, so contrived that he might have the merit of moderation, while he imposed the burden; and therefore when the parliament offered him 40,000*l.*, he accepted but 30,000*l.*—Rot. Parl. vi. 532.

to oppression, that ardour to claim and establish their liberties, which characterized the parliaments of former times, had been extinguished in the bloody feuds between "the two roses." The temporal peers who had survived the storm were few in number, and without the power of their ancestors; they feared by alarming the suspicions of the monarch to replunge themselves into the dangers from which they had so lately emerged; and the commons readily adopted the humble tone and submissive demeanour of the upper house. Henry, and the same may be observed of his two last predecessors, found them always the obsequious ministers of his pleasure.[1]

But if the king was economical in his expenses, and eager in the acquisition of wealth, it should also be added, that he often rewarded with the generosity, and on occasions of ceremony displayed the magnificence of a great monarch. His charities were many and profuse. Of his buildings, his three convents of friars fell in the next reign; his chapel at Westminster still exists, a monument of his opulence and taste. He is said to have occasionally advanced loans of money to merchants engaged in profitable branches of trade; and not only gave the royal license to the attempt of the Venetian navigator Cabot, but fitted out a ship at his own expense to join in the voyage. Cabot sailed from Bristol, discovered

1496. March 5.

[1] In the composition of these sheets, I have frequently been inclined to believe that we ascribe to the spirit of the commons in former times more than they really deserve. On many important occasions they appear to me to have been put forward and supported by the peers; on others to have been merely the instruments employed by the ruling party. If this be so, there can be no wonder that after the depression of the house of lords, they fell into a state of dependence on the crown.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1497. June 24.

the island of Newfoundland, crept along the coast of Florida, and returned to England. It was the first European expedition that ever reached the American continent.[1]

[1] Rym. xii. 595. Hackluyt, iii. 4.

CHAPTER VI.

HENRY VIII.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

Henry VIII. + 1547. = Catherine of Spain, repudiated 1533. = Anne Boleyn, beheaded 1536. = Jane Seymour, + 1537. = Anne of Cleves, repudiated 1540. = Catherine Howard, beheaded 1541. = Catherine Parr, + 1548.

Mary + 1558. = Philip II. of Spain. Elizabeth, 1603. Edward VI. + 1553.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emp. of Germ.	*K. of Scotland.*	*K. of France.*	*Sov. of Spain.*
Maximilian ... 1519	James IV. 1513	Louis XII. 1515	Ferdinand. 1516
Charles V.	James V. 1542	Francis I.	Isabella.
	Mary.		Charles V

Popes.

Julius II. 1513. Leo X. 1521. Adrian VI. 1523. Clement VII. 1534. Paul III.

ACCESSION AND MARRIAGE OF HENRY VIII.—PUNISHMENT OF EMPSON AND DUDLEY—STATE OF EUROPE—WAR WITH FRANCE—INGLORIOUS CAMPAIGN IN SPAIN—INVASION OF FRANCE—VICTORY AT GUINEGATE—DEFEAT OF THE SCOTS AT FLODDEN—PEACE—RISE, POWER, AND CHARACTER OF WOLSEY.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1509.

THE late king had forfeited, long before his death, the affections of his people; and the accession of his son, of the same name, was hailed as the commencement of a new era. The young Henry had almost completed his eighteenth year. He was handsome

April 22.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1509.

in person, generous in disposition, and adroit in every martial and fashionable exercise. His subjects, dazzled by the fair but uncertain promise of his youth, gave to him credit for more virtue than he really possessed;[1] while his vices, though perhaps even then discernible to an experienced eye, were not sufficiently developed to excite their alarm, or to attract their attention. By the advice of his grandmother, the venerable countess of Richmond, he gave his confidence to those counsellors who had grown old in the service of the deceased monarch; and, that he might initiate himself in the art of reigning, made it a sacred duty to assist almost daily at their deliberations.

The reader is already aware, that if the new king was still unmarried, it had been owing to the capricious and interested policy of his father. Immediately after his accesion, he assured Fuensalida, the Spanish ambassador, of his undiminished attachment to Catherine, and of his intention to bring the question of their marriage immediately before his council.[2] By its advocates was alleged in its favour the advantage of securing the alliance of Spain against the hostility of France; and to the objection drawn from the affinity between the parties were opposed the force of the papal dispensation, and the solemn assertion of Catherine, which she was ready to confirm by her own oath, and by the attestation of several matrons, that her former nuptials with Arthur had never been

[1] Even according to Cardinal Pole, his was indoles, ex qua præclara omnia sperari possent.—Apologia Reg. Poli, p. 86. Brixiæ, 1744.

[2] Ipsam ille supra omnes mulieres appetebat, supra omnes mabat, et illi se conjungi appetebat . . . . . antequam illi conjungeretur, hoc sæpe illum dixisse.—Ibid. 83, 84.

consummated.[1] With the unanimous assent of the council Henry was publicly married to the princess by the archbishop of Canterbury; their coronation followed; and these two events were celebrated with rejoicings, which occupied the court during the remaining part of the year. CHAP. VI. A.D. 1509. June 3, 24.

The first public acts of the young monarch were calculated to win the affections of his people. Henry confirmed by proclamation the general pardon which had been granted by his father, offered redress to all persons who had been aggrieved by the late commission of forfeitures, and ordered the arrest of Empson and Dudley, the chief panders to the rapacity of the late king, and of their principal agents known by the appellation of "promoters." The latter, having been exposed in the pillory to the derision of the people, or compelled to ride through the city with their faces to the tails of their horses, were condemned to different terms of imprisonment; the former were brought before the council, and charged with having usurped the authority of the courts of law, extorted from heirs exorbitant compositions for the livery of their lands, refused to receive the answers of the accused until they had paid for that indulgence, and wrongfully maintained that lands, possessed on other tenures, Apr 21.

[1] Polyd. 619. Henry acknowledged the truth of her assertion to her nephew the emperor, as is observed by Cardinal Pole in his letter to the king, entitled, Pro unitatis ecclesiasticæ defensione. Tu ipse hoc fassus es, virginem te accepisse, et Cæsari fassus es, cui minime expediebat, si tum de divortio cogitares, hoc fateri, f. lxxvii. lxxviii. Romæ, apud Antonium Bladum Asulanum.—Peter Martyr, in a letter dated May 6th, 1509, before the marriage, tells us that the same was the belief in Spain. Est opinio sponsum primum intactam, quia invalidus erat ætate non matura, reliquisse.—Pet. Mart. Ep. p. 207. On this account she was married with the ceremonies appropriated to the nuptials of maids. She was dressed in white, and wore her hair loose.—Sanford, 480.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1509.

were held in chief of the crown. The prisoners defended themselves with eloquence and with success. However harsh and iniquitous in itself their conduct might have been, it was justified by precedent, by the existing provisions of the law, and by the tenor of their commission; and therefore to hush the clamours of the people, it was deemed proper to accuse them of a new offence, a design to secure the person of the young king on the death of his father, and to possess themselves of all the powers of government. The charge was too absurd to deserve credit; but it seems to have been admitted throughout the whole of this reign, that if the crown brought an individual to his trial, it mattered little by what device his conviction was procured. Witnesses were found to depose that the obnoxious ministers, during the illness of the late king, had summoned their friends to be in arms, and ready to accompany them to London on an hour's notice; and juries were induced, on this flimsy pre-

July 16.

text, to pronounce them guilty of a conspiracy against the safety of the state. Dudley was convicted at the

Oct. 1.

Guildhall, Empson at Northampton; but their execution was respited at the intercession, it was believed, of the young queen. When the parliament met after

1510. Jan. 21.

Christmas, it passed an act of attainder against them for a crime, which they had not committed; and endeavoured to remedy the abuses, of which they had been really guilty. All persons, whom they had falsely pronounced tenants in capite, recovered their former rights; the qualifications and duties of escheators were accurately defined; and the term for bringing actions on penal statutes in favour of the crown was limited to the three years immediately following the alleged offence. It seems probable that

the king, satisfied with their forfeitures, would have suffered them to linger out their lives in confinement; but, during his progress the next summer, he was so harassed with the complaints and remonstrances of the people, that he signed the warrant for their execution. They suffered on Tower-hill; and their blood not only silenced the clamour of their enemies, but supplied the officers of the treasury with an excuse for refusing to redress the wrongs, of which these unfortunate men had been the original authors.[1]

August 18.

Peace abroad, and tranquillity at home, allowed the young monarch to indulge his natural taste for amusements and pleasure. During two years his court presented an almost uninterrupted succession of balls and revels, devices and pageants, which, in the absence of more important transactions, have been minutely recorded by historians. He excelled in all the accomplishments of the age; but chiefly prided himself on his proficiency in the martial exercises. The queen and her ladies, the foreign ambassadors and native nobility, were repeatedly summoned to behold the king of England fighting at barriers with the two-handed sword, or the battle-axe; and on all these occasions, so active and adroit was the prince, or so politic were his adversaries, that he invariably obtained the prize.[2] His vanity was quickly inflamed by the praises which he received; he longed to make trial of his prowess in real war; and cherished the hope of equalling the reputation of the most renowned among his ancestors, the third Edward, and the fifth Henry.

[1] Polydore, 620. Herbert, 5, 6, 12, 13. Rolls, xiv. Lords' Journals, i. 9. St. 1. Hen. VIII. 4, 8, 12—15. The heirs of both were restored in blood in 1512.

[2] See in particular Hall, 1—12.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1510.

It was not long before his wishes were gratified by the quarrel between Julius, the Roman pontiff, and Louis XII., king of France.

As this was the first occasion on which England took a decided part in the politics of the continent, it will be necessary to direct the reader's attention to the state of Italy, and to the real objects of the adverse parties. 1. In the north of Italy, Milan had been annexed to the French crown by Louis XII., who, pursuing the ambitious projects of his ancestors, had expelled the reigning duke Ludovico Sforza, and by successive aggrandisements awakened the fears of all his neighbours. 2. In the south, the crown of Naples had been wrested from Frederic, king of the Two Sicilies, by the combined armies of France and Spain. The allies divided their conquest; but dissensions followed; battles were fought to the disadvantage of the French; and the kingdom at last remained in the undisputed possession of Ferdinand. Both Ferdinand and Louis were, however, considered as foreign usurpers by the native powers, among which the most considerable were the republic of Venice, and the ecclesiastical state. 3. The Venetians, enriched by commerce, and supported by armies of mercenaries, had gradually become the envy and terror of the Italian princes. If, on the one hand, they formed the strongest bulwark of Christendom against the Turks; on the other they had usurped possession of a considerable territory on the coast of the Adriatic, and by their pride and ambition given birth to the common belief, that they aspired to the entire dominion of Italy. 4. The patrimony of the Roman see, though intersected by smaller states, reached from the borders of Naples to the late acquisitions of the Venetians. It was

under the government of Julius II., who retained in the chill of age all the fire of youth, and seemed to have exchanged the duties of a Christian bishop for the occupations of a statesman and warrior. The great objects of his policy were to extend the limits of the papal dominions, and to free Italy from the yoke of the strangers. His own resources were, indeed, inadequate to these objects; but he supplied the deficiency by the skill with which he wielded his spiritual arms, and the success with which he sought the co-operation of the greater powers. At first he deemed it prudent to dissemble his jealousy of Louis and Ferdinand, and directed his whole attention to the more formidable encroachments of the Venetians. By severing from the church the northern part of Romagna, they had furnished him with a reasonable cause of hostility; and to ensure success to his project, he applied to their several enemies; to Maximilian, the emperor elect, who claimed from them Treviso, Padua, Verona, and the Friuli, as fiefs of the empire; to Louis, who demanded as part of his duchy of Milan, the territory which they possessed on the right bank of the Adda; and to Ferdinand, who was anxious to recover Trani, Monopoli, Brindisi, and Otranto, seaports in Naples, which they held as securities for a loan of money.

The ministers of the four powers met under different pretexts in the city of Cambray; and the result was a confederacy for the purpose of confining the republic within its ancient limits. It was in vain that the Venetians opposed a gallant resistance to so many adversaries. Broken by repeated defeats, they implored the pity of Julius, who, content to have humbled their pride, was unwilling that their dominions

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1510.

should fall into the hands of the barbarians, the term by which he designated his allies beyond the Alps. At the solicitation, as it was pretended, of the king of England, he consented to a peace with the republic; and to the loud complaints of the French minister replied, that he had reserved this power to himself by the treaty of Biagrassa; that the great object of the alliance at Cambray had been accomplished; and that, if Louis and Maximilian aimed at more extensive conquests, it was unreasonable to expect that he should aid or sanction their injustice. His real views, however, gradually unfolded themselves; and the papal army unexpectedly entered the territories of Alphonso, duke of Ferrara, a vassal of the holy see. The pretext for this invasion was supplied by one of those numerous but ill-defined claims, which grew out of the feudal jurisprudence; but Louis, who knew that the pontiff had already concluded a secret alliance with the Venetians, judged that the real offence of Alphonso was his known attachment to France, and ordered his army in the Milanese to hasten to the support of his ally.

Feb. 24.

At the approach of Chaumont, the French commander, Julius retired to Bologna, and to his inexpressible surprise found himself besieged in that city. Fatigue and vexation brought on a fever, which confined him to his bed; but his spirit was unbroken; and if, at the entreaty of the cardinals, he consented to open a negotiation, his only object was to gain time for the arrival of reinforcements. Colonna, at the head of a body of Spanish horse, was the first to offer his services; the papal troops followed; and Chaumont, who had insisted on the most mortifying concessions, found himself compelled to retire in disgrace

Oct 19.

to the Milanese territory, where he died of a broken heart. This transaction furnished the pontiff with a plausible ground of hostility against Louis; and every court in Europe resounded with his complaints of the overbearing insolence of the French, who, during a time of peace, had insulted the head of the church in one of his own cities, and had even endeavoured to make him their prisoner.[1]

1511. In the following spring the French arms assumed a decided superiority under the marshal Trivulzi. Bologna opened its gates to him during an insurrection of the populace. The pontiff had previously May 21. sought an asylum within the walls of Ravenna; and his enemies, the Bentivogli, recovered their estates, honours, and the government of the city. About the same time three cardinals in Milan, under the protec- May 16. tion, and at the instigation of Louis and Maximilian, proclaimed a general council to assemble at Pisa, "for "the reformation of the church both in its head and Sept. 1. "its members." In this emergency Julius betrayed no symptom of alarm. He opposed council to council, summoned the bishops of Christendom to meet him in synod at the Basilic of St. John Lateran, deposed and excommunicated five cardinals, who had joined the council at Pisa, and deprived their adherents of all rights, possessions, and honours. At the same time his ministers at the different courts inveighed against the schism which had been created by the resentment of Louis, and against that ambition which, not content with the powerful kingdom of France, had seized on the duchy of Milan, and now sought to add to Milan the territories of the church. The last argu-

[1] See Guicciardini, p. 506, 608, Venezia, 1738; Pet. Mart. Ep. p. 235; Muratori, xiv. p. 73, 74.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1511.

ment had considerable weight with those princes who viewed with jealousy the progressive aggrandisement of the French crown, and believed that its possessors aspired to universal empire.[1]

Oct. 4. It was not long before an alliance defensive and offensive was signed between Ferdinand, the pope, and the republic of Venice; and an invitation was given to all Christian princes to accede to the "holy league," which had for its object the extinction of schism, and the defence of the Roman church.[2] Maximilian affected to hesitate; at length he recalled his promise to Louis, and joined the allies; but the young king of England had instantly assented to the entreaties of the pontiff, and the advice of his father-in-law. His vanity was gratified with the title of "head of the "Italian league;" Julius promised to reward his services with the appellation of "most Christian king," which Louis had forfeited by his schismatical conduct; and his flatterers fed his ambition with the vain hope of recovering the French provinces, which had been wrested on former occasions from the possession of his ancestors. As a preparatory step, Young, the English ambassador, accompanied by the envoys of

April 23. Scotland and Spain, exhorted Louis to consent to a reconciliation with the pontiff on the following conditions; that Bologna should be restored to the church, the council at Pisa be dissolved, and the cause of Alphonso be referred to impartial judges. But the

[1] These sentiments are thus expressed by Peter Martyr in a letter written in the beginning of October. Puto regem nostrum pontificis causam suscepturum: tum quia pium, tum quia de communi omnium agitur libertate. Si enim pontificem Gallus straverit, sub pedibus se sperat universam Italiam habiturum, legesque daturum universis Christianæ religionis principibus, quales libuerit (p. 246).

[2] Rym. xiii. 306.

French cabinet was acquainted with the real intentions of its enemies; an evasive answer was returned; and immediately a new treaty was concluded between the kings of England and Spain, by which it was stipulated that against the month of April Henry should have in readiness an army of six thousand five hundred, Ferdinand one of nine thousand men; that this combined force should invade the duchy of Guienne; and that for the safeguard of the sea, each power should furnish an armament of equal strength, composed of soldiers and mariners, to the amount of three thousand men.[1] To make good these engagements, Henry obtained from his parliament a supply of two tenths, and two fifteenths; and immediately Clarenceaux, king-at-arms, claimed of Louis in the name of his master the restoration of the ancient patrimony of the English crown in France. The refusal was followed by a denunciation of war; the marquess of Dorset sailed with the army in Spanish transports to the coast of Guipuscoa; and the fleet, under the command of Sir Edward Howard, lord admiral, cruised during the summer between England and Spain.[2]

CHAP VI. A.D. 1511. — Nov. 17. 1512. June 3.

Jean d'Albret, who held the principality of Bearne as the vassal of the French crown, had succeeded in right of his wife, the infanta Catalina, to the throne of Navarre; but his claim was opposed by a dangerous

[1] Rym. xiii. 311—319.

[2] Ibid. 327—329. The fleet consisted of eighteen ships. The largest of these, of 1,000 tons burden, belonged to the king, and carried 700 soldiers, gunners, and mariners. The others were of different sizes, from 500 to 100 tons, and carried 17 captains, 1,750 soldiers, and 1,233 gunners and mariners. The admiral received ten shillings per day; each captain one shilling and sixpence; all others ten shillings per lunar month, one half for wages, the other half for provisions.—Ibid.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1512.

competitor, Gaston de Foix, nephew of the French monarch. To preserve himself on the throne, he gladly acceded to the league; but within a few months Gaston fell in the battle of Ravenna, and the king, freed from his rival, concluded a secret treaty with Louis. By this defection, however, he forfeited the crown which he had been so anxious to retain. When the English general, in obedience to his instructions, prepared to march by Fontarabia against Bayonne, Ferdinand objected that it was previously necessary to secure the fidelity of the king of Navarre, who might at any moment during the seige cut off their communication with Spain, and destroy the combined army by famine. A joint embassy was sent to d'Albret; his promises of neutrality were distrusted, and the temporary occupation of his principal fortresses was demanded. During the negotiation Ferdinand obtained a copy of the alliance which the Navarrese had recently concluded with Louis, and immediately ordered the duke of Alva to lay siege to

July 25.

his capital. Its reduction was quickly followed by the submission of the rest of the kingdom; and Jean with his consort, leaving Bearne in the occupation of the French army, fled to the court of his ally. The marquess of Dorset, who lay inactive at Fontarabia, frequently protested against the invasion of Navarre, as an enterprise unconnected with the object of the expedition; but Ferdinand despatched a messenger to London, to complain of the obstinacy of the English general, and to request that he might be furnished with new and more ample instructions.

Sept. 5.

The Spanish army had now reached St. Jean Pie de Port; the English were invited to join them at that town; and the invasion of Guienne was at length

seriously proposed. But the marquess, whose mind had been soured by disappointment, refused to give credit to the assertions of the Spanish monarch, or to enter France by any other route than that which was laid down in his instructions. Six weeks were consumed in dispute and recrimination; disease and a spirit of mutiny began to spread in the English camp; Dorset required permission to return with his forces to his own country; and Ferdinand consented to furnish transports according to the treaty between the crowns. When it was too late, Windsor herald arrived with orders for the army to remain, and to obey the commands of the Spanish king. Its departure was a severe mortification to Henry, who had flattered himself with the hope of recovering Guienne; but, though he received the general and principal officers with strong expressions of displeasure, he was at a later period induced to listen to their exculpation, and to entertain a suspicion that his father-in-law might have been more attentive to the interests of the Spanish, than to those of the English crown. Ferdinand, indeed, reaped the principal fruit of the campaign by the conquest of Navarre, which is still possessed by his successors. Louis, on the other hand, took possession of Bearne; and the unfortunate Jean d'Albret saw himself despoiled of all his dominions by the jealousy and ambition of his more powerful neighbours.[1]

Oct. 31.

By sea the English arms were not more fortunate

[1] Polydore 627, 628. Herbert, 20—24. Pet. Mart. Ep. p. 254, 256, 263, 264, 267, 268, 269, 271. Ellis, 2. Ser. i. 108—203. Wolsey, apud Fiddes, Collect. p. 8. It has been said that Ferdinand kept possession in virtue of a papal bull, deposing d'Albret for his adherence to schismatics; but the existence of such a bull is very doubtful.—See Notices des MSS. du Roy, ii. 570.

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than by land. Sir Edward Howard, after repeated descents on the coast of Bretagne, fell in with the French fleet of twenty sail under the command of Primauget. Sir Charles Brandon, afterwards duke of Suffolk, who was nearest to the enemy, without waiting for orders, bore down on the Cordelier of Brest, a vessel of enormous bulk, and carrying a complement of nine hundred men. His ship was quickly dismasted by the superior fire of his adversary; and falling astern he reluctantly yielded his place to his rival Sir Thomas Knyvet, a young knight of more courage than experience, who commanded the Regent, the largest vessel in the English navy. The combat continued for more than an hour; but, another ship coming to the aid of Knyvet, Primauget, to save the honour of his flag, set fire to the Cordelier; the flames communicated to the Regent, and both vessels were entirely consumed. The rest of the French fleet escaped into the harbour of Brest; and "Sir Edward made his vow to God, that he would "never more see the king in the face, till he had "revenged the death of the noble and valiant knight "Sir Thomas Knyvet."[1] To console himself for the loss of the Regent, Henry built a still more capacious and stately vessel, which he named the "Henry grace "Dieu."

May. June. Aug. 12.

Though the king of England reaped neither glory nor advantage from these events, his efforts contributed materially to accomplish the chief object of the league. The French had opened the campaign

[1] Polydore, 630. Wolsey's letters to Fox, apud Fiddes, Collect. p. 9. The loss of the Regent was considered of such importance, that it was concealed from the public. "My lorde, at the reverens "of God kepe thes tydyngs secret to yowr sylf: for ther ys no "lyvyng man knowyth the same here but only the kyng and I."—Ibid.

in Italy with their accustomed impetuosity and success. They drove the Papal and Spanish armies before them, forced the intrenched camp under the walls of Ravenna, and made themselves master of that city. But if it was a splendid, it was also a disastrous victory. Ten thousand of their men fell in the action, with the General Gaston de Foix, a young nobleman of distinguished intrepidity and talent; and La Palice, who succeeded to the command, having reduced the rest of Romagna, led back the remnant of the conquerors to Milan, from which city he wrote the most urgent letters, soliciting supplies both of men and of money. But the resources of Louis were exhausted; and the necessity of equipping a fleet to preserve from insult his maritime provinces, and at the same time of collecting forces to repel the threatened irruption of the English and Spanish armies on the southern frontier, rendered him deaf to the prayers and remonstrances of La Palice. Compelled by the murderous hostility of the natives, and the rapid advance of a body of Swiss in the pay of the Pontiff, the French abandoned Milan to Maximilian Sforza, the son of the late duke. On the left bank of the Ticino they turned in despair on their pursuers; but the loss of one fourth of their number taught them to precipitate their flight; and before Christmas Julius was able to boast, that he had fulfilled his promise, and "had chased the barbarians "beyond the Alps."[1]

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1512 — April 11. — Dec. 15.

Experience had now convinced Louis that he was not equal to the task of opposing so many enemies; 1513 Feb.

[1] Polydore, 625, 626. Guicciard, 707. Pet. Mart. P. 156. Muratori, xiv. 106. The latter observes of Julius, Risoluto, come egli sempre andava dicendo, di voler cacciare i barbari d'Italia, senza pensare se questo fosse un mestiere da sommo pastor dell a chiesa. p. 92

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1513.

and the repose of winter was successfully employed in attempts to debauch the fidelity of some among the confederates. Julius, who had been the soul of the league, died in February; and the new pope, Leo X., though he did not recede from the engagements of his predecessor, gave but a feeble support to a cause which he had never cordially approved. While Julius lived, his authority had silenced the opposite claims of the emperor and the Venetians; but they now quarrelled about the partition of their late conquests, and the republic, listening to the offers

March 23. of Louis, consented to unite her arms and fortune with those of France. Even Ferdinand suffered him-

April 1. self to be seduced by the proposal of an armistice that he might have leisure to establish his authority in the newly acquired kingdom of Navarre.[1] But Henry was inexorable. He longed to wipe away the disgrace of the last year; and the feelings of the people harmonized with those of their sovereign. The clergy granted him two tenths, the laity a tenth, a fifteenth, and a capitation tax, towards the prosecution

April 5. of the war.[2] The future operations of the campaign

[1] Rym. xiii. 350.

[2] This tax was fixed after the following rates (Rolls xxvi. xxvii.):

	£	s.	d.
A duke	6	13	4
Marquess or earl	4	0	0
Wives of ditto	4	0	0
Baron, baronet, and baroness	2	0	0
Other knights not lords of parliament	1	10	0
Proprietors of lands above 40*l.* yearly value	1	0	0
From 20*l.* to 40*l.*	0	10	0
10*l.* to 20*l.*	0	5	0
2*l.* to 10*l.*	0	2	0
Below 2*l.*	0	1	0

	£	s.	d.
The possessors of personal property, value 800*l.*	2	13	4
From 400*l.* to 800*l.*	2	0	0
200*l.* to 400*l.*	1	6	8
100*l.* to 200*l.*	0	13	4
40*l.* to 100*l.*	0	6	8
20*l.* to 40*l.*	0	3	4
10*l.* to 20*l.*	0	1	8
2*l.* to 10*l.*	0	1	0
Labourers and servants with wages of 2*l.* yearly	0	1	0
From 1*l.* to 2*l.*	0	0	6
All other persons	0	0	4

[From

were arranged by a treaty between the emperor, and the kings of England and Spain, by which each prince bound himself to declare war against Louis, and to invade within two months the kingdom of France.[1] Maximilian and Henry faithfully complied with their engagements; but Ferdinand disavowed the act of his ambassador; nor were pretences wanting to so skilful a politician, in justification of that conduct, which it was now his interest to pursue.

In April Sir Edward Howard sailed to accomplish his vow, and fell a martyr to his favourite maxim, that temerity becomes a virtue at sea. He was blockading the harbour of Brest, when it was suggested to him to cut out a squadron of six gallies under Prejent, or Prior John, moored in the bay of Conquêt between rocks planted with cannon. Taking two gallies and four boats, he rowed up to the enemy, leaped on the deck of the largest vessel, and was followed by Carroz, a Spanish cavalier, and sixteen Englishmen. Unfortunately his own galley, which had been ordered to grapple with their opponent, fell astern; the gallant Sir Edward and his companions were borne overboard by a superior force; and the fleet, disconcerted by the loss of its commander, hastened back into port. Prejent seized the opportunity to insult the coast of Sussex; but the king ordered the lord Thomas Howard to take the place and revenge the death of his brother; and the new admiral, having chased the enemy into Brest, and captured several valuable

April 19

April 25.

May 4.

From these rates it appears that the old distinction between greater and lesser barons was not yet abolished. They are called barons and baronets, and are considered equally as lords of parliament.

[1] Rym. xiii. 354—363.

[2] Herbert (p. 31) from a letter of Sir Ed. Echingham.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1513.

prizes, returned, to cover with the fleet the passage of the army from Dover to Calais. Henry was now ready to reconquer the patrimony of his ancestors; and the people of France trembled at the exaggerated reports of his ambition and resources.[1] Five-and-twenty thousand men sailed at different periods, in three divisions; two under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury, and the lord Herbert, the last under that of the king himself; who before his departure appointed "his most dear consort Queen Catherine "rectrix and governor of the realm;"[2] and left orders for the immediate execution of his prisoner the unfortunate earl of Suffolk. The reader will recollect that this nobleman had been attainted in the last reign, but had been rescued from the block by the prayers and importunity of the archduke Philip. His present fate was generally attributed to the advice which the young Henry had received from his father; it was more probably owing to the imprudence of Richard de la Pole, who had accepted a high command in the French army, and assumed the rival appellation of the "white rose." This at least is certain, that the ambassadors at foreign courts received instructions to justify his execution, by alleging the discovery of a traitorous correspondence between the two brothers."[3]

June 6, 16.

June 30.

June 22.

Shrewsbury and Herbert had already formed the siege of Terouenne, while the young king loitered for weeks at Calais, spending his time in carousals and entertainments. At length he reached the camp, where he was joined by the emperor, at the head

August 4.

August 10.

[1] Christianorum principum neminem magis verentur Galli. Pet. Mart. p. 248.

[2] Rym. xiii. 370, 372. Pet. Mart. p. 86.

of four thousand horse.[1] Maximilian, to flatter the vanity of his young ally, and to avoid any dispute about precedency, called himself the volunteer of the king of England, wore his badge of the red rose, put on the cross of St. George, and accepted one hundred crowns for his daily pay. Louis on the other hand determined to relieve Terouenne; he even advanced to the neighbouring city of Amiens; but his pride was humbled by the signal defeat of his army at Novara in Italy; his fears were excited by the news that three thousand German cavalry, and a numerous body of Swiss infantry, in the pay of the emperor, had burst into Burgundy; and his council earnestly advised him to avoid the hazard of a battle, and to seek only to protract the siege. A small quantity of powder and provisions had been introduced by the intrepidity of Fonterailles, who, at the head of eight hundred Albanian horsemen, broke through the lines, ordered his followers to throw down their burdens at the gate, and wheeling round reached a place of safety before the English could assemble in sufficient number to intercept his retreat. This success encouraged a second attempt on a larger scale. The French cavalry had been collected at Blangy; and, dividing into two bodies, advanced along the opposite banks of the Lis, under the dukes of Longueville and Alençon. Henry had the wisdom to consult the experience of his imperial volunteer, who was acquainted with the country, and had already obtained two victories on the very same spot. By his advice the army was immediately mustered; Maximilian hastened to meet the enemy with the German horse, and the Eng-

Aug. 16.

[1] Articles of war were printed for the Government of his host. See them in Mr. Kempe's Loseley MSS. 110.

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lish archers on horseback; and the king followed with the principal part of the infantry. To account for the result of the action would be a difficult task. The French gendarmes, formed in the Italian campaigns, had acquired the reputation of superior courage and discipline; yet on the first shock of the advanced guards they fled; the panic shot through the whole mass of the army; and ten thousand of the best cavalry in Europe were pursued almost four miles by three troops of German, and a few hundreds of English, horse. Their officers, in the attempt to rally the fugitives, were abandoned to the mercy of the enemy. La Palice and Imbrecourt, though taken, had the good fortune to make their escape; but the duke of Longueville, the marquess of Rotelin, the chevalier Bayard, Bussy d'Amboise, Clermont, and La Fayette, names distinguished in the military annals of France, were secured, and presented to Henry and Maximilian. During the action, which the French, with their characteristic humour, denominated the Battle of Spurs, a sally was made from the walls, and the duke of Alençon attempted to break through the trenches; but the first was repulsed by the lord Herbert, the second by the earl of Shrewsbury; and Teligni the governor, despairing of relief, surrendered

Aug. 22.

the city. It had proved a formidable neighbour to the inhabitants of Aire and St. Omer, who were allowed by Henry, at the solicitation of Maximilian, to raze its defences with the ground.[1]

While the king was thus demolishing the chief monument of his victory, more splendid and lasting laurels had been won by his lieutenant, the earl of

[1] Hall, xxxii. xxxiii. Giovio, l. xi. f. 100, 101 Lutetiæ, 1558. Pet. Mart. p. 288. Du Bellay, 3—7. Paris, 158.

Surrey, in the memorable field of Flodden. The reader has noticed in a former volume that James IV. of Scotland had married Margaret, the sister of Henry. This new connection did not, however, extinguish the hereditary partiality of the Scottish prince for the ancient alliance with France; and his jealousy of his English brother was repeatedly irritated by a succession of real or supposed injuries. 1. James had frequently claimed, but claimed in vain, from the equity of Henry the valuable jewels, which the late king had bequeathed as a legacy to his daughter the Scottish queen. 2. In the last reign he had complained of the murder of Sir Robert Ker, the warden of the Scottish marches, and had pointed out the bastard Heron of Ford as the assassin; and yet neither Heron, nor his chief accomplices, had been brought to trial. 3. Lastly, he demanded justice for the death of Andrew Barton. As long ago as 1476 a ship belonging to John Barton had been plundered by a Portuguese squadron; and in 1506, just thirty years afterwards, James granted to Andrew, Robert, and John, the three sons of Barton, letters of reprisal, authorising them to capture the goods of Portuguese merchants, till they should have indemnified themselves to the amount of twelve thousand ducats. But the adventurers found their new profession too lucrative to be quickly abandoned; they continued to make seizures for several years; nor did they confine themselves to vessels sailing under the Portuguese flag, but captured English merchantmen, on the pretence that they carried Portuguese property. Wearied out by the clamour of the sufferers, Henry pronounced the Bartons pirates, and the lord Thomas and Sir Edward Howard, with the king's permission, boarded and

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1511.

captured two of their vessels in the Downs. In the action Andrew Barton received a wound, which proved fatal; the survivors were sent by land into Scotland.

August 11.

James considered the loss of Barton, the bravest and most experienced of his naval commanders, as a national calamity; he declared it a breach of the peace between the two crowns; and in the most peremptory tone demanded full and immediate satisfaction. Henry scornfully replied, that the fate of a pirate was unworthy the notice of kings, and that the dispute, if the matter admitted of dispute, might be settled by the commissioners of both nations at their next meeting on the borders.[1]

While James was brooding over these causes of discontent, Henry had joined in the league against Louis; and from that moment the Scottish court became the scene of the most active negociations, the French ambassadors claiming the aid of Scotland, the English insisting on its neutrality. The former appealed to the poverty and the chivalry of the king. Louis made him repeated and valuable presents of money; Anne, the French queen, named him her knight, and sent him a ring from her own finger. He

1512. July 10.

cheerfully renewed the ancient alliance between Scotland and France, with an additional clause reciprocally binding each prince to aid his ally against all men whomsoever. Henry could not be ignorant that this provision was aimed against himself; but he had no reason to complain; for in the last treaty of peace,

[1] It is extraordinary that after this, in 1540, another demand for compensation to the Bartons was made on the king of Portugal (Lesley, 336. Romæ, 1578), and that the letters of reprisal were suffered to remain in force till 1563, that is eighty-seven years after the commission of the offence. See Mr. Pinkerton, ii. 61, note.

the kings of England and Scotland had reserved to themselves the power of sending military aid to any of their friends, provided that aid were confined to defensive operations.

It now became the object of the English envoys to bind James to the observance of peace during the absence of Henry. Much diplomatic finesse was displayed by each party. To every project presented by the English the Scottish cabinet assented, but with this perplexing proviso, that in the interval no incursion should be made beyond the French frontier. Each negociated and armed at the same time. It had been agreed that, to redress all grievance, an extraordinary meeting of commissioners should be held on the borders during the month of June. Though in this arrangement both parties acted with equal insincerity, the English gave the advantage to their opponents, by demanding an adjournment to the middle of October. Their object could not be concealed. Henry was already in France; and James, having summoned his subjects to meet him on Burrow Moor, despatched his fleet with a body of three thousand men to the assistance of Louis. At the same time a Scottish herald sailed to France, the bearer of a letter from James to Henry, complaining of the murder of Barton, of the detention of Scottish ships and artillery, of the protection given to the bastard Heron, and of the refusal to pay the legacy left by Henry VII. to his daughter the Scottish queen; requiring the retreat of the English army out of France, and stating that he had granted letters of marque to his subjects, and would take part with Louis his friend and ally. The herald found Henry in his camp before Terouenne, and received from him an answer equally

1513.

June.

July 26.

August 11.

CHAP VI. A.D. 1513.

scornful and passionate. But James had already begun hostilities; he did not live to receive the report of his messenger.[1]

August 13.

The first signal of war was given by the lord Home, chamberlain to the king of Scotland, who on the same day on which the herald left Terouenne with the reply of Henry, crossed the English borders, and plundered the defenceless inhabitants. He was intercepted in his return by Sir William Bulmer, and lost, together with the booty, five hundred of his men slain on the spot, and four hundred made prisoners. For this check James consoled himself with the hope of speedy revenge; and left Burrow Moor at the head, it is said, of one hundred thousand men. The numbers who crowded to his standard prove that little credit is due to those Scottish writers, who represent the enterprise as disapproved by the nation, and have invented the most marvellous tales, to make the king alone responsible for the calamity which followed. If we may believe them, James determined to make war in despite of the advice of both earthly and unearthly counsellors. His obstinacy could not be subdued by the tears or entreaties of his queen, nor by the remonstrances of the most able among his nobility and ministers, nor by the admonition of the patron saint of Scotland, who in the guise of an old man, announced to him in the church of Linlithgow the fate of the expedition, nor by the warnings of a preternatural voice which was heard in the dead of the night from the cross of Edinburgh, summoning the principal lords to appear before an infernal tribunal. Followed by one

[1] The particulars of these negociations have been collected by the industry of Mr. Pinkerton, ii. 69—91. See Calig. b. vi. f. 50; Holins. 135.

of the most numerous armies that had ever been raised in Scotland, he passed the Tweed at its confluence with the Till, and turning to the north, laid siege to the strong castle of Norham. The governor deceived the expectations both of his friends and foes. By the improvident expenditure of his ammunition he was unable to protract the defence, and having repulsed three assaults, on the sixth day surrendered his trust. Wark, Etall, and Ford, border fortresses of inferior account, followed the example of Norham.

A.D. 1513.

August 22.

August 29.

When James crossed the Tweed, the earl of Surrey lay in the castle of Pontefract. Having summoned the gentlemen of the northern counties to join the royal standard at Newcastle, he hastened forward to Alnwick; from which town he despatched on Sunday Rouge Croix, the pursuivant at arms, to the king of Scotland with two messages. The one from himself offered battle to the enemy on the following Friday; the other from his son, the lord Thomas Howard, stated that, since James at the border sessions had repeatedly charged him with the murder of Barton, he was come to justify the death of that pirate, and that, as he did not expect to receive, so neither did he mean to give, quarter. To Surrey the king courteously replied, that he accepted the challenge with pleasure; to the son he did not condescend to return an answer.

Sept. 3.

Having demolished the castle of Ford,[1] James led

[1] It is probable that James demolished Ford to revenge the death of his favourite, Sir Robert Ker; not that William Heron, the owner of the castle, had been the assassin; for he was at that moment a prisoner in Scotland (Hall, xxxix); but that the murder had been committed by his bastard brother, John Heron, who, though pronounced an outlaw by Henry, was permitted to go at large, and actually fought, and was wounded in the battle which followed (Hall, xlii.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1513.

his army across the river, and encamped on the hill of Flodden, the last of the Cheviot mountains, which border on the vale of Tweed. The same day the earl mustered his forces at Bolton in Glendale. They amounted to twenty-six thousand men, chiefly the tenants of the gentlemen in the northern counties, and the men of the borders, accustomed to Scottish warfare. From Bolton he advanced to Wooler haugh, within five miles of the enemy; whence he viewed with surprise the strength of their position, accessible only in one quarter, and that fortified with batteries of cannon. Rouge Croix was again despatched to James, with a message, requiring him to descend into the large plain of Milfield between the two armies, and to engage his adversary on equal terms. The king laconically replied, that he should wait for the English according to their promise till Friday at noon.[1]

Sept. 6.

Sept. 7.

Surrey was disconcerted by this answer. To decline the battle was to break his word; to fight the Scots in their present position was to invite defeat. He was rescued from the dilemma by the bold counsel

Giovio, 103). Elizabeth, the wife of William Heron, in the absence of her husband, petitioned the king to spare the castle, and had obtained, on that condition, from Surrey the liberty of the lord Johnstone, and of Alexander Home.—See the earl's message, Hall, xxxix. But James refused the exchange, and rejected the petition of the lady. I suspect that this is the only foundation of the tale which is sometimes told, that James was captivated by the charms of Mrs. Ford, who revealed his secrets to Surrey, and that he spent in dalliance with her that time, which ought to have been employed in penetrating into England. But it should be recollected that the whole time alloted for the capture of Ford, Etall and Wark, is comprised within a short space, between the 29th of August, when Norham surrendered, and the 3rd of September, when Surrey reached Alnwick. The king therefore appears to have lost but little of his time.

[1] Ellis, i. 86.

of his son, who advised him to march towards Scotland, and then return, and assail the enemy on the rear. The next morning, the army formed in two grand divisions, each of which was subdivided into a battle and two wings. The first, distinguished by the name of the vanguard, obeyed the lord admiral; the second, called the rearguard, was led by the earl himself. In this manner the English crossed the Till, and, keeping out of the reach of the cannon, advanced along the right bank till the evening. At sunrise the following day, they again crossed the river by the bridge of Twissel, and, returning by the left bank, approached the Scottish camp. James now discovered the object of this movement, which at first had appeared unaccountable. He ordered his men to set fire to their huts, and hastened to take possession of an eminence more to the north, called the hill of Brankston. The smoke, which rose from the flames, was rolled by the wind into the valley, and entirely intercepted the view of the two armies, and their respective movements, so that when it cleared up, the admiral found himself at the foot of the hill, and beheld the enemy on its summit, at the distance of a quarter of a mile disposed in five large masses, some of which had taken the form of squares, and others that of wedges. Alarmed at their appearance and numbers, he halted his division; it was soon joined on its left by the rearguard, under his father, and both advanced in one line. At the same time, the Scots began to descend the hill, in perfect order and profound silence.[1]

Sept. 8.

Sept. 9.

[1] En bon ordre, en la manière que marchent les Allemands, sans parler ne faire aucun bruit.—Official account apud Pink. ii. App. 456.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1513.

As the battle, from the disposition of the Scottish forces, consisted of several distinct actions, it will be most convenient for the reader to travel along the English line, and notice the result of each conflict in succession. The right wing of the vanguard, under Sir Edmund Howard, could not support the overwhelming charge of a large body of spearmen, commanded by the lord Home. The English were broken, and their commander was unhorsed; but while he lay on the ground expecting to be taken or slain, the battle was unexpectedly restored by the timely arrival of the bastard Heron, with a numerous band of outlaws. The fugitives rallied at his call; and a doubtful contest was fiercely maintained, till the lord Dacre, with the reserve of fifteen hundred horse, charged the spearmen, and put them to a precipitate flight. The next was the lord Admiral, with the major part of the vanguard, opposed to the earls of Huntley, Errol, and Crawford, who commanded a dense mass of seven thousand Scots. In this part of the field the contest was obstinate and bloody. At length Errol and Crawford perished, and their followers, discouraged by the death of the leaders, began to waver, fell into confusion, and shortly afterwards fled in every direction. Surrey with the rearguard was attacked by the king himself. James fought on foot, surrounded by some thousands of chosen warriors, who were cased in armour, and on that account less exposed to the destructive aim of the English archers. Animated by the presence and the example of their monarch, they advanced steadily, and fought with a resolution which, if it did not win, at least deserved, the victory. Though Surrey made every effort, he could not arrest their progress; they had penetrated within a few

yards of the royal standard; and James, ignorant of the result in other parts of the field, flattered himself with the prospect of victory. But in the meanwhile Sir Edward Stanley, who commanded the left wing, had defeated the earls of Argyle and Lennox. The ranks of the Scots, as they descended the hill, were disordered by the murderous discharges of the archers; the moment they came into close combat, the confusion was completed by a sudden charge in flank from three companies of men-at-arms. They began to retreat; Stanley chased them over the summit of the hill; and, wheeling to the right, led his followers against the rear of the mass commanded by James in person. In a few minutes that gallant monarch was slain by an unknown hand, and fell about a spear's length from the feet of Surrey. The battle had begun between four and five in the afternoon, and was decided in something more than an hour. The pursuit continued about four miles; but the approach of night, and the want of cavalry on the part of the victors, favoured the escape of the fugitives. In the official account published by the lord admiral, the Scots are said to have amounted to eighty thousand men, a multitude from which we may fairly deduct perhaps one half, as mere followers of the camp, collected more for the purpose of plunder than battle. Ten thousand were slain, among whom were the king of Scots, his illegitimate son, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, two other bishops, two abbots, twelve earls, thirteen barons, five eldest sons of barons, and fifty gentlemen of distinction.[1] Six thousand horses

[1] We have four contemporary and detailed accounts of this battle. One by Hall, xlii., another equally minute, but much more elegant in

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were taken, with the park of artillery, amounting to seventeen pieces.[1] Lord Dacre recognized among the slain the body of the Scottish king, and conveyed it to Berwick, whence it was afterwards carried to London, that it might be interred with suitable honours.[2]

When the news of this important victory reached the king of England, he was no longer at Terouenne. Having demolished that city at the request of the emperor, by the advice of the same prince he now

Sept. 22.

invested Tournay. Tournay contained a population of eighty thousand souls, and though situate within the territory of another power, had long been distinguished by its attachment to the French crown. To the summons sent by Henry, the inhabitants returned a bold and chivalrous defiance; but their resolution evaporated amid the fatigues and dangers

Sept. 23.

of a siege, and on the eighth day they submitted to receive an English garrison, to swear fealty to the king, and to pay towards the expenses of the war fifty thousand livres tournois in one sum, and forty

the Italian historian Giovio, i. xxi. f. 102; a third by the lord Thomas Howard, which is preserved in the herald's office, and has been published by Mr. Pinkerton, ii. App. 456; and a fourth printed by Mr. Galt, in the appendix to his Life of Wolsey, p. 1. See also a letter from the queen on this victory, in Hearne's Tit. Liv. p. 106.

[1] Lesquelles, says the lord admiral, sont les plus cleres, et les plus nectes, et les mieux faconnées, et avec lec moyndres pertuis à la touche, et les plus belles de leur grandeur et longuer, que j'ai viz oncques.—Ibid. 458.

[2] The common people would not believe that their king had been slain by the English. When, however, he did not appear, some said that he had been murdered by traitors, others that he was gone a pilgrim to Jerusalem. Henry, on the contrary, to blazon his death, obtained from Pope Leo permission to bury the body in consecrated ground, because he died under the sentence of excommunication, to which he had subjected himself if he broke the treaty (Rym. xiii. 385). Stowe (495) tells us, that he saw it wrapped in lead, and lying in a lumber-room at Shene, after the dissolution of that monastery.

thousand more by instalments, in the course of ten years.[1] The campaign ended with the fall of Tournay; and Henry had the gratification to receive there an illustrious visitor, Charles, the young prince of Spain, conducted by his aunt Margaret, Duchess dowager of Savoy, and regent of the Netherlands. Charles, it will be remembered, had been contracted during the last reign to the princess Mary, the king's sister. Both the parties were then children, Charles being only seven, Mary only nine years old; so that either on coming to the age of puberty, could legally annul the contract. Hence, to secure its subsequent execution, oaths had been reciprocally sworn by Maximilian, the grandfather and guardian of Charles, and by Henry the father of Mary; and bonds, in addition to a great amount, had been exchanged between the two monarchs, the chief of the nobility, and the most wealthy of the towns in their respective dominions, that nothing should be done by either party to prevent the legal solemnization of the marriage within forty days after Charles had completed his fourteenth year. Now, as that term was swiftly approaching, it was agreed, in a new treaty subscribed by the king at Lisle, and ratified by the emperor at Tubingen, that in the following spring Maximilian, Margaret, and Charles, should meet Henry, Catherine, and Mary at Calais, within sufficient time to allow of the celebration of the marriage in due form previously to the fifteenth of May.[2]

Oct. 11.

1508. Dec. 17

1518. Oct. 15.

Nov. 15

Henry had taken with him to Tournay Sir Charles Brandon, son of Sir Robert Brandon, who had been standard-bearer to the late king, and had fallen by his

[1] Herbert, 40, 41. Rym. xiii. 377. Du Bellay, 8.
[2] Rym. xii. 236. Chron. Catal. 94—101, 114.

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side in the battle of Bosworth. The memory of the father's services had procured for the son the place of esquire of the body to the present monarch; and the young man, by the elegance of his person and manners, the gentleness of his disposition, and his adroitness in every knightly and courtly exercise, had won not only the esteem but the affection of his sovereign. Henry seized every opportunity of exalting his favourite. Just before his arrival at Calais he had betrothed Brandon to the infant daughter and heiress of the late

May 15.

Lord Lisle, and on that pretext had created him Lord Viscount Lisle. But at Tournay this lady with her fortune was not thought equal to his deserts. The archduchess Margaret offered a more desirable match. She was a widow, with two princely jointures, having already been married to John, prince of Spain, and after his death, to Philibert, duke of Savoy. It was not, indeed, likely that the daughter of the emperor and regent of the Netherlands, with all the pride of birth and rank about her would condescend to accept an Englishman of plebeian descent for her husband. Yet, whether the project sprang originally from the ambition of the favourite, or the partiality of his patron, it was resolved that the attempt should be made. Henry undertook to woo for his friend, and wooed with his charcteristic vehemence and pertinacity. Margaret refused; she even hinted that such a marriage would disgrace her in the eyes of the whole country. But the king persevered, and when he waited on her at Lisle,[1] extorted from her some kind expression or promise, which served to keep alive the hopes of her English suitor. Hitherto the courtship had been conducted in the most covert manner; but

[1] Rymer, xiii. 380. Chron. Catalogue, 114.

on the king's return to England, the secret transpired, and was soon communicated to the several courts on the continent. The report soon reached the archduchess, who complained bitterly that Henry or his favourite had betrayed her confidence; and had rendered her, so she declared, an object of ridicule throughout Europe.[1] A.D. 1518.

From Flanders Henry returned to England, proud of his victory and conquest. In the recent treaty with the emperor, it had been agreed that, in consideration of a subsidy of two hundred thousand crowns, that prince should watch the French frontier with an army of ten thousand men till the opening of the next campaign, which was fixed for the first day of June.[2] Henry spent the winter in preparations for the new conquest which he contemplated. Troops were levied and trained to military discipline; an aid of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds was voted by parliament, and titles and honours were bestowed on the commanders who had distinguished themselves in the late campaign; the earl of Surrey who was created duke of Norfolk, his son the lord Thomas who succeeded to the title before held by his father, the

Oct. 24.

1514. Jan. 24.

Feb. 1.

[1] At Lisle the king made her promise 'in his hand,' that she would not marry any one before his return, or within one year. She made the promise, for she said that she was resolved never to marry again. He then made Brandon make the same promise to her, though she did not ask him, "and that for allwayes he schullde be to "me trewe and humble servant. And I to him promised to be "syche mastresse alle my lyfe, as to him who meseemed desyred to "do me most service." Brandon kneeling and playing before her, drew a ring from her finger. She insisted that it should be restored; Henry forbade him to give it up, and sent her another of greater value. It was not its value that she regarded, but it was her official ring, and universally known. Unable to recover it, she extorted a promise that it should never be shewn.—See her own narrative published by Mr. Gough Nicholas in the Chronicle of Calais, notes, p. 73.

[2] Rym. xii. 379.

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lord Herbert, made earl of Somerset, and Sir Edward Stanley, now Lord Monteagle. At the same time the favourite, Sir Charles Brandon, was created duke of Suffolk, probably with a view to his projected marriage with the archduchess Margaret. But Louis, humbled by a long series of disasters, preferred negotiation to war. He appealed to the individual interests of the confederates, infused into them suspicions of each other's sincerity, and successively detached them, one by one, from the league. 1. In Leo X. he found a pontiff of corresponding disposition; and the moment he consented to abandon the Bentivogli and his other partisans in Italy, and dispersed the schismatical council, which had been transferred from Pisa to Lyons, the pope, by circular letters, exhorted the confederates to sheathe the sword, and revoked all the censures which had been published against the king or the kingdom of France. 2. In the estimation of Ferdinand the permanent possession of Navarre was paramount to every other object; and, though he refused to make peace without the concurrence of the king of England, he cheerfully consented to a prolongation of the armistice for twelve months.[1] Henry viewed the defection of the pope and of Ferdinand with pain, but without surprise. Of the fidelity of Maximilian after the late treaty, he entertained no doubt. 3. Yet the virtue of Maximilian could not refuse the bait which French policy held out to his ambition, in the proposal of a marriage between his grandson Charles and Renée, the daughter of Louis, with a transfer to him of the

[1] Peter Martyr says that he began to grow jealous of the power of Henry, p. 294, 295. Le Grand adds, that Henry in consequence behaved so ill to Catherine, that she miscarried, i. 39.

claim of the French crown to the duchy of Milan, as the portion of the princess.

The moment it was ascertained by Louis that the emperor had accepted this offer, the intelligence was artfully communicated to the king of England, through the duke of Longueville, a prisoner of war. Henry at first affected to doubt; but the perfidy of his ally was proved by the evasive answer returned by the council of regency in Flanders, when the king summoned Maximilian to celebrate the stipulated marriage between Charles and Mary. From that moment he lent a more willing ear to the suggestions of Longueville; and Louis, encouraged by his success, sought not only the restoration of peace, but a matrimonial connection between the two crowns. The death of his queen, Anne of Bretagne, had left him a widower; his late treaty with Maximilian had deprived Mary, the king's sister, of a husband. He, therefore, offered himself as a suitor in the place of the prince of Spain. There was indeed some difference in the age of the parties: for Louis was fifty-three, Mary only sixteen years old. Henry saw at once the benefit to be derived from this offer, though he pretended to hesitate, observing that his honour was at stake, and that his people would never permit him to renounce his inheritance in France without an equivalent.[1]

The French cabinet understood the hint, and cheerfully signified its acquiescence. Three treaties were concluded at the same time. The first was a treaty of alliance between the two kings, to continue in force during the term of their joint lives, and one year longer. It bound each to furnish an auxiliary

Aug. 7.

[1] Henry's letter to Wolsey, apud Rym. xiii. 403.

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army at the requisition of the other; but distinguished between offensive and defensive war, limiting the aid in the first case to five thousand men by land, and two thousand five hundred by sea, and extending it in the other to double that number. The second treaty provided for the marriage of Louis with the princess Mary. Henry agreed to defray the expense of his sister's journey, to furnish her with jewels, and to pay with her a dower of two hundred thousand crowns; and Louis engaged to secure to her the same jointure, which had been granted to his late queen the heiress of Bretagne, with a promise that, if she survived him, she should be at liberty to reside, at her own option, either in England or France. By the third, the same monarch, in consideration of arrears due to the English crown, on account of moneys formerly owing to Henry VII. from Charles VIII., and to Margaret duchess of Somerset, from Charles duke of Orleans, bound himself and his successors to pay to Henry and his heirs one million of crowns by thirty-eight half-yearly instalments.[1]

July 30. Mary had already, by a public instrument, renounced the contract made with Charles of Spain in their

August 13. nonage; she was now solemnly married to Louis at Greenwich, where the duke of Longueville person-

Sept. 14. ated his sovereign, and soon afterwards at Paris, where the earl of Worcester appeared as her proxy.[2] When the necessary preparations were completed, the duke of Norfolk conducted her to Louis, who received her at Abbeville, and was now married to her in person in the cathedral. The very next day the young bride complained of the harsh, unfeeling conduct of her husband. At home, her household establishment had

[1] Rym. xiii. 409. [2] Ibid. 432, 446.

been planned on the most extensive scale; and the multitude of Englishmen who had followed her to France, excited the jealousy and murmurs of the natives. Louis without ceremony cut down the number to twelve men, and six women servants, under the superintendence of the earl of Worcester,[1] and gave peremptory orders that all the others should return to England with the duke and his colleagues, who would depart two days later. Mary resented their dismissal: and felt most grievously the loss of "her "mother Guilford," the lady under whom she had been educated. Henry refused to interfere in her favour, and when the earl of Worcester, at the request of the disconsolate queen, ventured to remonstrate, Louis replied that his wife was of sufficient age to take care of herself, and that if she stood in need of advice, he was as able to administer it as her governess. Mary, however, soon wiped away her tears, and became insensibly reconciled to her new circumstances.[2] The king conducted her to St. Denis, where she was crowned, and thence to Paris, where she was received with processions and rejoicings. To gratify her taste for gaiety, he exchanged the quiet and abstemious life to which he had been accustomed, for late hours and parties of pleasure, to the injury of

Oct. 10.

Nov. 5.

[1] It appears from their names that most of them belonged to noble families. The six ladies were "Madamoyselle Grey, seur de Mar- "quis, Madamoyselle Marie Finis, fille de Monsr. Dacres, Madamoy- "selle Elizabet, seur de Monsr. Grey, Madamoyselle Boleyne, "Maistress Anne Jenyngham, femme de chambre, Jehanne Barnesse, "chambrieri; signed Loys."—MS. Cot. Vitel. i. xi. f. 156. The reader will observe among them the name of Anne Boleyn, selected probably out of compliment to the duke of Norfolk her uncle, and Sir Thomas Boleyn her father, both commissioners having charge of the princess.

[2] See the letters in Ellis, i. 116, and 2. Ser. i. 244-7. As a recompence to the lady Guilford, Henry granted her an annuity of 20*l.* for life.—Rym. xiii. 470.

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his health, which had formerly been impaired by hardships and indulgence; and within three months from the time of his marriage, he sunk, after a short illness, into the grave.[1] In a few days, the duke of Suffolk arrived from England to condole, in the name of Henry, with the young widow, and to make arrangements for the payment of her dower with the new king, Francis I.

But Suffolk's attention was soon called to a very different subject. Political events had extinguished his hopes of a union with the archduchess Margaret, but if he had been a fitting match for the daughter of an emperor, why should he not be equally so for the daughter of a king? A marriage between him and the young widow was proposed—by whom we know not—by her it was accepted with pleasure; by Francis, whom the lovers had admitted into their confidence, it was warmly encouraged; for to him it was of the first importance, that she should not be contracted again to the prince of Spain.[2] He advised an immediate and clandestine marriage. He would take the blame upon himself, and save them harmless from the displeasure of Henry. It was, however, thought more decent to ask the king's consent. Suffolk wrote to Wolsey soliciting his intercession in

[1] Le bon roi, a cause de sa femme, avoit changé de tout sa manière de vivre; car ou il souloit diner à huit heures, il convenoit qu'il dinât à midi; et ou il souloit se coucher a six heures du soir, souvent se couchoit à minuit.—Hist. de Bayard apud Henault, 423.

[2] Peter Martyr gives this reason. Ne si ad potentiorem aliquando principem deveniret, formidolosum aliquid pariat, p. 301. It was known in Rome by the middle of February that both Maximilian and Ferdinand had determined to make every sacrifice to procure her for the archduke. Cesare, et il Catolico faranno ogni cosa, perche sio moglie dell' archiduca Cosi viene scritto da i nuntii nostri d'Alemagna et di Spagna.—Lett. de' Principi, i. 14.—See also Polydore, 645.

their favour, and Mary informed her brother in plain terms, that she had married once to please him, and would either marry now to please herself, or take the religious vows in a convent. With the king's answer we are not acquainted; but she fixed a short term, within which Suffolk was assured that he must either take her or abandon her for ever; on the last day he consented, and privately celebrated the marriage; and the event was communicated to Henry by Francis, who pleaded warmly in favour of the lovers and by Mary, who, to exonerate her husband, took the whole blame upon herself. To obtain their pardon was not in reality a difficult task. It is certain that Wolsey, and therefore probable that Henry, was in the secret from the beginning;[1] but it had been deemed less indecorous in the king to forgive afterwards, than to consent beforehand. For some time he kept the lovers in suspense; after a decent interval, affecting to acquiesce through necessity in that which he could not prevent, he sealed their pardon, and ordered them to be publicly married before him at Greenwich.[2] In the meanwhile Francis had renewed all the engagements of his predecessor to the satisfaction of the English cabinet; and both kings publicly boasted that they had concluded a peace and alliance which would endure for ever; as if, amid the clashing interests of states, and the vicissitude of unforeseen events, it were possible to ensure duration

A.D. 1515

March 31.

April 16.

May 16.

April 5.

[1] This was also reported in Rome on good authority, but was thought incredible. C'è di Francia, che Inghilterra ha qualche fantasia di dar la sua vedova sorella al duca di Suffolk, e che elia non ne è aliena. Tal cosa non si crede molto, e pur l'aviso vien da loco assai autentico.—Lett. de' Principi, i. 14.

[2] On this singular subject, see extracts from the original letters in Fiddes, 83—85, 88; Ellis, 119—125; Galt, App. xii.—xiv

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1515.

to the amities of neighbouring and powerful sovereigns. In the course of a few pages, the reader will learn how egregiously they deluded themselves.

When Henry ascended the throne, the leading ministers in the cabinet were Howard, earl of Surrey, lord treasurer, and Fox, bishop of Winchester, lord privy seal. But among the inferior dependants of the court had already appeared one, whose aspiring views and superior talents rapidly enabled him to supplant every competitor.

Thomas Wolsey, a native of Ipswich,[1] and a clergyman, had, by the interest of Sir John Nanfan, been
1506. appointed in the last reign one of the royal chaplains. After the death of his patron, he attached himself to the service of the bishop of Winchester, at whose recommendation he was intrusted with a secret and delicate negotiation at the imperial court; and the expedition and address with which he executed his commission, not only justified the discernment of his friend, but also raised the agent in the estimation of his sovereign. Before the death of Henry VII. he
1508. Feb. 2. had been collated to the deanery of Lincoln, one of the most wealthy preferments in the English church; soon after the commencement of the present reign, we find him exercising the office of almoner to the king, and thus possessing every facility of access to the presence of the young monarch. Henry was captivated with the elegance of his manners, and the gaiety of his disposition; he frequently resorted with his favourite companions to the house of his almoner;

[1] There is a tradition that he was the son of a butcher; but it is hardly reconcilable with the will of his father, whose bequests show him to have been a burgess of considerable opulence, possessed of lands and tenements in Ipswich, and free and bond lands in Stoke.—Singer's Cavendish, 502. Fiddes, Collect. 1.

and Wolsey, on these occasions, if we may believe the sarcastic pen of an adversary,[1] threw off the decencies of his station, and sang, and danced, and caroused, with all the levity and impetuosity of the most youthful among his guests. It was soon discovered that the most sure and expeditious way to the royal favour was through the recommendation of the almoner; and foreigners, as well as natives, eagerly solicited, and frequently purchased his patronage. Still he behaved with becoming humility to his former protector, the aged bishop of Winchester, and even united with that prelate in condemning the prodigality with which the lord treasurer supplied money for the expensive pleasures and thoughtless extravagance of the king.[2] A.D. 1508.

During the war, Wolsey accompanied Henry to France; was charged with the care of the department for victualling the army, and after the reduction of Tournay, on the refusal of the bishop elect to swear fealty, received from the king, with the consent of the pope, the administration of that diocese.[3] Preferments now poured in upon him. He was made dean of York, then bishop of Lincoln; and, on the death of cardinal Bambridge, succeeded that prelate in the archiepiscopal see of York. His preponderating influence in the council induced foreign princes to flatter him with compliments, and to seek his friendship with presents; and during fifteen years he governed the kingdom with more absolute sway than had fallen to the lot of any former minister. We are not, however, obliged

1514. March 4.

August 5.

[1] Polydore Virgil (663), the pope's subcollector in England, who by the order of Wolsey had been imprisoned for more than six months.—Rym. xiii. 515, 516.

[2] See Fiddes, Collect. p. 7. [3] Ibid. p. 43. Rym. xiii. 584

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to believe the tale so often repeated, that he owed his elevation to the address with which he insinuated himself into the royal favour, by promising to take all the labour on himself, that his master might have more leisure to indulge in pleasure and dissipation. The multitude of letters still extant, all written by Henry to him, or by him to Henry, demonstratively show, that the king himself devoted a considerable portion of his time and attention to the cares of government.[1] But Wolsey possessed the art of guiding his sovereign while he appeared to be guided by him, and, if ever he urged a measure of policy contrary to the royal inclinations, he had the prudence to desist before he had given offence, and entered into the opposite views of the king with as much industry and zeal, as if the new project had originated from himself.[2]

It seemed necessary to introduce this short account of the rise and character of a minister, who was destined to bear for several years a very prominent part in the most important transactions not only in this, but in all the neighbouring kingdoms; we may now revert to the affairs of Scotland, which, after the death of its king and the destruction of its nobility in the field of Flodden, presented for some time a melancholy

[1] See Rym. xiii. 404; Fiddes, Collect. p. 15, and the collection of letters in the Cotton library, Cal. B. i.—viii.

[2] We are also told, on the authority of Polydore (p. 646), that Bishop Fox, unable to brook the ascendancy of Surrey, recommended Wolsey to the king, and left the court. This is probably a fiction, as the bishop retained his office, and negotiated treaties till the year 1516.—Rym. xiii. 553. No more credit is due to the tale, that the arrogance of Wolsey drove the same peer, when he was duke of Norfolk, from the cabinet. That nobleman retained his office of treasurer, till a short time before his death, and then resigned it to his son, the earl of Surrey, in 1522.—Rym. xiii. 777.

scene of confusion and terror. Fortunately the victorious army had been hastily collected; the want of provisions and of military supplies compelled Surrey to disband his forces; and though Henry, by repeated messages, urged the wardens of the marches to prosecute the war, their efforts were confined to short, though destructive incursions. By degrees the Scottish spirit recovered from its depression; the call for revenge was echoed throughout the nation; several chieftains gathered their retainers; and the devastation of one inroad was repaid by the devastation of another. The queen had been permitted, in conformity with the will of her husband, to assume the regency as guardian to her son James V., an infant not a year and a half old; but, when it was discovered that her relationship to the king of England did not restrain the hostility of that monarch, the partisans of France proposed to intrust the reins of government to the hands of John, duke of Albany, the son of that Alexander who had been banished by his brother, James III. Seven months had not elapsed from the death of her husband, when Margaret was safely delivered of a second son, Alexander, duke of Ross; but in less than three months afterwards, she displeased both the nation and her brother, by marrying the young earl of Angus, a nobleman who might indeed boast of a handsome person, but who possessed neither knowledge nor experience, and united with an insatiate ambition the most headstrong passions. This hasty and unequal union deprived her of her most powerful adherents; and a national deputation invited the duke of Albany to assume the government of the kingdom. That prince was a foreigner, as well by affection as birth; the whole of his pro-

April 30

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1514.

perty lay in the kingdom of France; and he stood high in the confidence of the French monarch. His appointment naturally alarmed the king of England, whose interest it was to sever, if it were possible, the ancient connection between Scotland and France. With this view, he exacted both from Louis, who was at the time employed in soliciting the treaty of alliance, and afterwards from his successor, when he renewed it, a solemn promise that Albany should never be permitted to leave the shores of France. Each of these monarchs complied; and yet the Scots had no sooner accepted the article by which they were comprehended in the treaty, than Albany appeared among them, took on himself the supreme authority, and openly avowed his determined hostility to the queen and her partisans. Henry had already tampered with that princess to bring her children to England, and intrust them to the care of their uncle; but Albany besieged the castle of Stirling, compelled the queen to surrender the two princes, and placed them under the custody of three lords appointed by parliament.[1]

1515. May 18.

These events had already taught the king of England to view with jealousy the conduct of his "good "brother and perpetual ally," the French monarch. Orders were sent to the English ambassador to complain that the commerce of the king's subjects was interrupted by the French mariners, under colour of letters of marque issued by the late king of Scots; that Albany had been permitted to leave France, and assume the government of Scotland, in violation of

[1] These events are very incorrectly given in most of our historians. The industry of Mr. Pinkerton has collected them from the original letters.—See his history, vol. ii. book xii.

the royal promise; and that in consequence of his arrival, the queen, the sister of Henry, had been deprived of her right to the regency of the kingdom and the guardianship of her children.[1] Francis, whose youth and accomplishments made him the idol of his people, had already formed the most gigantic projects of conquest and aggrandizement, from which he did not suffer himself to be diverted by the remonstrances of Henry. Having endeavoured to pacify that monarch by apologies, denials, and promises, he put in motion the numerous army which he had collected with the avowed purpose of chastising the hostility of the Helvetic cantons; but, instead of following the direct road either into Switzerland or Italy, he passed unexpectedly between the maritime and Cottian Alps, and poured his cavalry into the extensive plains of Lombardy. His real object was now manifest. The Italian princes, whose jealousy had guarded to no purpose the accustomed roads over the Alps, were filled with consternation; in a consistory at Rome, it was proposed to solicit the aid of Henry; and a few days later Leo, to secure the mediation of Wolsey, named that minister cardinal priest of St. Cicely beyond the Tiber.[2]

Sept. 7.

Sept. 11.

Francis, who still affected to be thought the friend of the English monarch, received the first intelligence of this promotion; and though he was aware of its object, despatched a messenger to offer his congratulations to Wolsey. But neither that prelate nor his sovereign could view with satisfaction the progress of the young conqueror; who, by the bloody but decisive victory of Marignano, and the subsequent reduction of Milan, had repaired the losses of his pre-

Sept. 13.

[1] Fiddes, 91, 92.

[2] Raynald, xx. 192.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1515.

decessor, and restored the ascendancy of the French power in Italy. Was the former league to be renewed, or was Francis to be permitted to pursue his conquests? After much deliberation in the English cabinet, it was resolved to follow a middle course between peace and war; to avoid actual hostilities with France, but to animate its enemies with hopes, and to aid them with subsidies. Some money was advanced, more was promised both to the emperor and the cantons of Switzerland; an army of fifteen thousand Germans, and of an equal number of Swiss, was collected; and the emperor Maximilian at its head forced his way to the very gates of Milan. But here his resources failed, and a mutiny of his troops, who demanded their pay, compelled him to retrace his steps to the city of Trent. There he sent for Wyngfield, the English agent, and made to him the following most singular proposal. It was evident, he said, that the other powers would never permit either himself or Francis to retain permanent possession of Milan. Would then the king of England accept the investiture of the duchy? In that case he was ready to adopt Henry for his son, and to resign in his favour the imperial dignity; but on these conditions, that the king should declare war against France, should cross the sea with an army, and should march by Tournay to the city of Treves, where Maximilian would meet him, and make the resignation with all the formalities required by law. Thence the two princes, leaving the bulk of the English forces to invade France in conjunction with an army of Germans, might proceed together towards Italy, pass the Alps at Coire, take possession of Milan, and continue their journey to Rome, where Henry should

1516. May 17.

receive the imperial crown from the hands of the sovereign pontiff.[1]

There was much in this dazzling and romantic scheme to captivate the youthful imagination of the king, but he had the good sense to listen to the advice of his council, contented himself with accepting the offer of adoption, and directed his attention to a matter which more nearly concerned his own interests, the conduct of the duke of Albany in Scotland. Against the regency of that prince he had remonstrated in strong and threatening terms. The Scottish parliament returned a firm, though respectful answer;[2] but Francis, who still dreaded the hostility of the king of England, advised the Scots to conclude a perpetual peace with Henry, refused to ratify the renewal of the ancient alliance between the two kingdoms, though it had been signed by his envoy at Edinburgh, and even required the regent, in quality of his subject, to return to France. Albany, whether he disliked the task of governing a turbulent people, of whose very language he was ignorant, or was intimidated by the threats of Henry and the displeasure of his own sovereign, willingly obeyed the command; and, under the pretence of some urgent business, obtained permission from the Scottish parliament to revisit his family and estates. But before his departure provision was made for the return of Margaret, who had sought an asylum in England; and a temporary council was appointed, in which the numbers of the two parties were nearly balanced, and under the nominal government of which Scotland passed four years of dissension and anarchy.[3]

July 4

Nov. 3.

[1] Fiddes, p. 114.
[2] Rym. xiii. 550.
[3] Pinkerton, ii. 157—166.

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1516.

Francis, having won the duchy of Milan, determined to secure his conquest by disarming the hostility of his neighbours. With large sums of money, he purchased the consent of the Helvetic states to a perpetual peace; Charles of Austria, who had succeeded Ferdinand on the throne of Spain, was persuaded to

August 13. accept the hand of the princess Louisa, an infant of one year, with the rights of the house of Anjou to the crown of Naples as her dower; and Maximilian himself, by the lure of pecuniary advantages, was induced

Dec. 4. to accede to the treaty between France and Spain.[1] But, though Francis was now at peace with all the powers of Europe, he felt alarmed at the unfriendly conduct of the king of England, who had not only aided his enemies with money, but had lately con-

Oct. 29. cluded a secret treaty against him with Maximilian and Charles.[2] It chanced that at this period, Selim, emperor of the Turks, having conquered Egypt and Syria, had collected a numerous army, and publicly threatened the extirpation of the Christian name. The

1517. princes on the borders of Turkey trembled for their existence; Maximilian, in a letter to the pontiff, offered to devote his remaining years to the common service of Christendom, in opposing the enemies of the cross; and Leo, having by his own authority

1518. May 7. proclaimed a general truce of five years, despatched legates to the different powers, exhorting them to compose their private quarrels, and to unite their forces in their common defence. His advice was followed; the pope, the emperor, and the kings of

Oct. 2. England, France, and Spain, entered into a confederacy, by which they were bound to aid and protect each other, and in every case of invasion of territory,

[1] Dumont, iv. par. i. 199, 256. [2] Rym. xiii. 556—566.

whether the invader were one of the confederates or not, to unite their arms in defence of the party aggrieved, and to obtain justice for him from the aggressor.[1] At the same time, to cement the union between England and France, the dauphin, an infant just born, was affianced to Mary, the daughter of Henry, a child not four years old; and, that every probable occasion of dispute might be done away, Tournay with its dependencies was restored to France for the sum of six hundred thousand crowns.[2] Thus after ten years of war and negotiation, of bloodshed and perfidy, were all the powers re-established in the same situation in which they had stood previously to the league of Cambray, with the exception of the unfortunate, and perhaps unoffending king of Navarre, whose territories on the south of the Pyrenees could not be recovered from the unrelenting grasp of Spain.

A.D. 1518.

Oct. 4.

Wolsey still retained the first place in the royal favour, and continued to rise in power and opulence. Archbishop Warham had often solicited permission to retire from the Chancery to the exercise of his episcopal functions; and the king, having at last accepted his resignation, tendered the seals to the cardinal. Whether it was through an affectation of modesty, or that he thought this office incompatible with his other duties, Wolsey declined the offer; nor was it till after repeated solicitations that he acquiesced in the wish of his sovereign.[3] He had, however, no

1515. Dec. 22.

[1] A similar treaty had been concluded the year before by the emperor, and the kings of England and Spain.—See Chron.: catalogue of materials for the Fœdera, p. 125.

[2] Rym. xiii. 578, 603, 606, 610—700. As the parties were children, the king and queen of France made the contract in the name of their son, and the king and queen of England, by their proxy, the earl of Somerset, in the name of their daughter.

[3] Rym. xiii. 530. Some writers have ascribed the resignation of

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1518. July 27.

objection to the dignity of papal legate, with which he was invested by Leo X. The commission was originally limited to two years; but Wolsey procured successive prorogations from different popes, and, not content with the ordinary jurisdiction of the office, repeatedly solicited additional powers, till at length he possessed and exercised within the realm almost all the prerogatives of the sovereign pontiff.[1] Nor was his ambition yet satisfied. We shall afterwards behold him, at the death of each pope, labouring, but in vain, to seat himself in the chair of St. Peter.

His love of wealth was subordinate only to his love of power. As chancellor and legate he derived considerable emoluments from the courts in which he presided. He was also archbishop of York; he farmed the revenues of Hereford and Worcester, sees which had been granted to foreigners; he held in commendam the abbey of St. Alban's, with the bishopric of Bath; and afterwards, as they became vacant, he exchanged Bath for the rich bishopric of Durham, and Durham for the administration of the still richer church of Winchester.[2] To these sources of wealth should be added the presents and pensions which he received from foreign princes. Francis settled on him an annuity of twelve thousand livres, as a compensa-

1514. 1518. 1523. 1528.

Warham to compulsion, arising from the desire of Wolsey to occupy his place. It will be difficult to reconcile this supposition with the contemporary testimony of Sir Thomas More and Ammonius. Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis officio cancellarii, cujus onus jam aliquot, ut scis, annos mirum quam laborabat excutere, tandem exsolutus est.—Ep. Mori Erasmo, ann. 1516. Apud Erasm. tom. iii. p. 234. Tuus Cantuariensis cum bona regis venia magistratu se abdicavit: quem Eboracensis impendio rogatus suscepit.—Ammon. Erasmo, Feb. 17, ann. 1517, p. 221. More, in his letter to Warham himself, notices the same—Magistratum deponere (quod tua paternitas magno labore impetravit ut liceret facere), &c.—Apud Stapleton, Vit. Mori, p. 236.

[1] Rym. xiii. 734; xiv. 18.

[2] Rym. xiii. 620, 763, 783; xiv. 268.

tion for the bishopric of Tournay, and Charles and Leo granted him a yearly pension of seven thousand five hundred ducats from the revenues of the bishoprics of Toledo and Palencia in Spain.[1] In justice to his memory it should, however, be observed, that if he grasped at wealth, it was to spend, not to hoard it. His establishment was on the most princely scale, comprising no fewer than five, perhaps eight, hundred individuals. The chief offices were filled by barons and knights; and among his retainers he numbered the sons of many distinguished families, who aspired under his patronage to civil or military preferment. On occasions of ceremony, he appeared with a pomp which, though it might be unbecoming in a clergyman, showed him to be the representative of the king of England, and of the sovereign pontiff. The ensigns of his several dignities, as chancellor and legate, were borne before him; he was surrounded by noblemen and prelates; and was followed by a long train of mules bearing coffers on their backs covered with pieces of crimson cloth. He spared no expense in his buildings; and, as soon as he had finished the palace of Hampton Court, and furnished it to his taste, he gave the whole to Henry; perhaps the most magnificent present that a subject ever made to his sovereign. The character of Wolsey has been portrayed by the pencil of Erasmus, who had tasted of his bounty,[2] and by that of Polydore, whom his justice or policy had thrown into confinement. Neglecting the venal praise of the one, and the venomous slander of

July 31. 1520. March 29.

[1] Ibid. xiii. 610, 713.

[2] Erasmus praises him highly in some of his epistles (see p. 262, 269; also 321, 314, 463), and yet had the meanness to dispraise him as soon as he heard of his fall. Metuebatur ab omnibus, amabatur a paucis, ne dicam a nemine.—Ann. 1530, p. 1347.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1520.

the other, we may pronounce him a minister of consummate address and commanding abilities; greedy of wealth, and power, and glory; anxious to exalt the throne on which his own greatness was built, and the church of which he was so distinguished a member; but capable, in the pursuit of these different objects, of stooping to expedients, which sincerity and justice would disavow, and of adopting, through indulgence to the caprice and passions of the king, measures which often involved him in contradictions and difficulties, and ultimately occasioned his ruin. As legate, he is said to have exercised without delicacy his new superiority over the archbishop of Canterbury, and to have drawn to his court the cognizance of causes which belonged to that primate; but the question of right between them admitted of much dispute, and it is acknowledged on the other hand, that he reformed many abuses in the church, and compelled the secular and regular clergy to live according to the canons. His office of chancellor afforded him the opportunity of displaying the versatility and superiority of his talents. He was not, indeed, acquainted with the subtleties and minutiæ of legal proceedings, and on that account was careful to avail himself of the knowledge and experience of others; but he always decided according to the dictates of his own judgment; and the equity of his decrees was universally admitted and applauded.[1] To appease domestic quarrels, and reconcile families at variance with each other, he was

[1] Princeps Cantuariensi suffecit Eboracensem, qui ita se gerit ut spem quoque omnium, quanquam pro reliquis ejus virtutibus maximam, longe tamen exsuperet; et, quod est difficillimum, post optimum prædecessorem valde probetur et placeat.—Morus Erasmo, p. 234. Quem magistratum Eboracensis pulcherrime gerit.—Ammon. Erasmo, p. 221.

accustomed to offer himself as a friendly arbitrator between the parties; that the poor might pursue their claims with facility and without expense, he established courts of requests; in the ordinary administration of justice he introduced improvements which were received with gratitude by the country;[1] and he made it his peculiar care to punish with severity those offenders who had defrauded the revenue, or oppressed the people. But his reputation, and the ease with which he admitted suits, crowded the Chancery with petitioners; he soon found himself overwhelmed with a multiplicity of business; and the king, to relieve him, established four subordinate courts, of which that under the presidency of the Master of the Rolls is still preserved.

Literature found in the cardinal a constant and bountiful patron. He employed his influence in foreign courts, to borrow valuable manuscripts for the purpose of transcription.[2] On native scholars he heaped preferment, and the most eminent foreigners were invited by him to teach in the universities. Both of these celebrated academies were the objects of his care; but Oxford chiefly experienced his munificence in the endowment of seven lectureships, and the foundation of Christ Church, which, though he lived not to complete it, still exists a splendid monument to his memory. As a nursery for this establishment he erected another college at Ipswich, the place of his nativity.

1525. July 13.

[1] Alia porro constituit judicia ubi pauperum querimoniæ exaudirentur; multaque ordinavit in rebus civilibus popularibus grata, ac nobis in hunc usque diem usurpata, quibus virum se ostendit sapientissimum nec non reipublicæ amantem.—Godwin, 14. I wish he had particularized these institutions.

[2] See instances in Mr. Brown's Ragguagli, iii. 145, 146. Voria farli acopiar in carta buona. They were intended for his college at Oxford.—Ibid.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1525.

But these occupations at home did not divert his eyes from the shifting scenes of politics abroad. He was constantly informed of the secret history of the continental courts; and his despatches, of which many are still extant, show that he was accustomed to pursue every event through all its probable consequences; to consider each measure in its several bearings; and to furnish his agents with instructions beforehand for almost every contingency. His great object was to preserve the balance of power between the rival houses of France and Austria;[1] and to this we should refer the mutable politics of the English cabinet, which first deserted Francis, to support the cause of Charles, and, when Charles had obtained the ascendancy, abandoned him to repair the broken fortunes of Francis. The consequence was, that as long as Wolsey presided in the council, the minister was feared and courted by princes and pontiffs, the king held the distinguished station of arbiter of Europe.

[1] Raynald, viii. 459. More's Works, p. 1436.

CHAPTER VII.

CHARLES V. IS ELECTED EMPEROR—INTERVIEW BETWEEN HENRY AND FRANCIS—ARREST AND EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM—WOLSEY IS ARBITRATOR BETWEEN FRANCIS AND CHARLES—IS DISAPPOINTED OF THE PAPACY—IS OPPOSED IN HIS ATTEMPT TO RAISE MONEY—THE ENGLISH INVADE FRANCE—BATTLE OF PAVIA, AND CAPTIVITY OF FRANCIS—HENRY DESERTS CHARLES, AND MAKES PEACE WITH FRANCE—TREATY OF MADRID—ORIGIN OF THE REFORMATION—HENRY WRITES AGAINST LUTHER—HE IS DECLARED DEFENDER OF THE FAITH.

CHARLES of Austria, who, in right of his father Philip, had inherited the rich and populous provinces of the Netherlands, the ancient patrimony of the house of Burgundy, ascended the Spanish throne on the death of Ferdinand, as the representative of his mother Juana, the daughter of that monarch by Isabella of Castile. He was in the vigour of youth, gifted with superior talents, and anxious to earn the laurels of a conqueror; qualities which equally formed the character of his neighbour, the king of France. Had there existed no hereditary enmity between the two families, no conflicting claims to the possession of the same territories, still their common ambition, and that desire which each displayed of becoming the first among the princes of Christendom, would have made them rivals and adversaries. This power was almost equally balanced. If the dominions of Charles were more extensive, those of Francis were more

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1525.

compact; if the one could command the services of a more numerous population, the other ruled with fewer impediments, and with more absolute sway. The French monarchs had successively annexed to the crown those fiefs which had formerly rendered their possessors almost independent of the sovereign; and, by crushing the feudal aristocracy of ancient times, had enabled themselves to wield at pleasure, and without contradiction, the whole power of their empire. But in the Netherlands the measures of the prince were perpetually impeded by the opposition of the states; and even in Spain, though the different kingdoms which once divided the peninsula had been, with the exception of Portugal, moulded by the genius of Ferdinand into one powerful monarchy, yet the exercise of the royal authority was greatly circumscribed by the rights and immunities still claimed by the Cortes and the nobility.

1519. Jan. 12.

Three years after the demise of Ferdinand, the rivalry between the young kings was called into full activity by the death of the emperor Maximilian. That prince, anxious to secure the succession to the imperial crown in the house of Austria, had in the last diet solicited the electors to name his grandson Charles king of the Romans. The majority had promised their voices; but from this engagement they were released by his death, and were now summoned to choose not a king of the Romans, but an emperor. Charles announced himself a candidate; and the vanity of Francis immediately prompted him to come forward as a competitor. The intrigues of the French and Spanish courts on this occasion are foreign from the subject of the present work; but the conduct of Henry demands the attention of the reader. His

former refusal of the imperial crown, when it was offered by Maximilian, had not proceeded from the moderation of his desires, but from diffidence in the sincerity of his ally. Now that the glittering prize was open to competition, he disclosed his wishes to his favourite; and both the king and the cardinal, reciprocally inflaming the ambition of each other, indulged in the most flattering delusions. In fancy they were already seated, the one on the throne of the Cæsars, the other in the chair of St. Peter, and beheld the whole Christian world, laity and clergy, prostrate at their feet.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1519.

The election of Henry would secure, it was foretold, the elevation of Wolsey; and the bishop of Worcester was commissioned to procure the consent and aid of the pope, whilst Pace hastened to Germany with instructions to sound the dispositions of the electors, to make them the most tempting promises, and, if he saw a prospect of success, to name the king of England as a candidate; if not, to propose a native prince to the exclusion of both Francis and Charles. But experience soon taught this envoy that with mere promises he was no match for the agents of the other candidates, who came furnished with ready money; and therefore adhering to subsequent instructions, he threw into the scale the whole weight of his influence in favour of the king of Spain, who after a long debate was chosen without a dissentient voice.[1] In this transaction Francis had great reason to complain of the duplicity of "his good brother." From the very

June 28.

[1] Frederic, elector of Saxony, was the favourite. The majority offered to place him on the imperial throne; but he had the wisdom or the magnanimity to refuse.—See the letters of Cajetan, Lettere di Principi, i. 60—66; and Martini, iii. 1286.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1519

beginning he had received assurances of the most cordial support from the English court, and in return had expressed his gratitude to the king by a letter of thanks, and to Wolsey by a promise of securing for him on the first vacancy fourteen votes in the conclave. Prudence, however, taught him to accept with seeming satisfaction the apology of the English cabinet, that Pace would have aided him, had there appeared any chance of success, and had only seconded the election of Charles, because it was in vain to oppose it.[1]

July 5.

Though the two competitors during the contest had professed the highest esteem for each other, the bitterest animosity already rankled in their hearts, and each sought to fortify himself with the support of Henry against the presumed hostility of his rival. To Francis the late conduct of the king of England afforded but slender hopes of success; he trusted, however, to his own address and eloquence; and summoned Henry to perform an article in the last treaty, by which it was agreed that the two monarchs should meet each other on the border of their respective dominions. The intelligence alarmed the jealousy of the Spanish cabinet; remonstrances were made against an interview so pregnant with mischief to the interests of Charles; and Henry, while he pretended a readiness to fulfil the treaty, suggested difficulties,

[1] Apud Fiddes, 219—224. Ellis, i. 146, 156. Wolsey was soon convinced of the hoplessness of the attempt in favour of Henry. Not daring, however, to hint so much, he employed Clerk, afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells, to reason with the king on the subject. It was in vain: "His grace considered no jupartys."—State Papers, i. 23. Pace, however, on his return, having been privately instructed by the cardinal, so exaggerated the price which Charles had paid for the imperial crown, that his grace said "he was right gladde that he "obteynydde not the same."—Ibid. 8.

demanded explanations, and artfully contrived reasons to suspend or postpone the meeting. But his cunning was opposed with equal cunning; and Francis brought the question to an issue by signing a commission, which gave full power to Wolsey to settle every point in debate as he should judge most conducive to the joint honour of the two kings. Having received the permission of Henry, the cardinal decreed that the interview should take place between Ardres and Guisnes, to which towns the two courts should repair before the last day of May, and that, to celebrate the meeting, a tournament should be held at the same time, in which the kings of England and France, with eighteen assistants, should answer all opponents at tilt, tourney, and barriers.[1] Still the struggle continued between the two monarchs, the one labouring to evade, the other to enforce this award.

1520. March 12.

Among the artifices to which Henry resorted, there is one which will amuse the reader. As a proof of his sincerity, he swore before the French ambassador that he would never more cut his beard till he had visited "his good brother;" and Francis, anxious to bind him still faster, immediately took a similar oath. But the former neglected, the latter fulfilled his promise; and, when long beards had in consequence become the prevailing fashion in the French court, Sir Thomas Boleyn was compelled to apologize for the bad faith of his master, by alleging that the queen of England felt an insuperable antipathy to a bushy chin. At length Henry with a numerous and splendid retinue left Greenwich, and proceeded by slow stages to Canter-

May 21.

[1] See it in Hall, 70. It appears that Henry had solicited such an interview formerly with Louis XII.—Ellis, 2. Ser. vol. 1, p. 235, 252.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1520.

bury, where, to the surprise of all who had not been admitted into the secret, advice was received that Charles with a squadron of Spanish ships had cast anchor in the harbour of Hythe. He had been impelled (so it was pretended) by the most urgent motives to visit his paternal dominions in the Netherlands; and hearing, as he sailed up the Channel, that the English court was near the coast, had landed to pay his respects to his uncle and aunt. This apparently accidental meeting was celebrated at Canterbury with feasts and rejoicings; the young emperor by his flattery and attentions rooted himself in the affections of Henry, and by promises and presents secured the friendship of Wolsey; and on the fourth day, when he sailed from Sandwich, the king, with his court, crossed the strait from Dover to Calais.[1]

May 25. May 26. May 27. May 3.

For several weeks a thousand workmen had been busily employed in erecting a palace of frame work near the castle of Guisnes. It was of a quadrangular form, and measured in compass four hundred and thirty-seven yards, containing a most sumptuous chapel, several apartments of state, and ample accommodations for the king and queen, and their numerous attendants. No expense had been spared in internal or external decorations. The furniture was new and of the most costly description; the ceilings were covered with silk, and the walls hung with cloth of arras. Near the town of Ardres an edifice of similar magnificence had been erected for the king of France, and adjoining to it a pavilion or banqueting room, supported

[1] Hall, 72. Pet. Mart. p. 369. So far was this visit from being accidental, that Henry, on the 8th of April, had instructed his ambassadors to fix the time and place.—Chron. Catalogue, 130.

from the summit of a mast standing in the centre, and covered entirely with cloth of gold. As soon as the kings had reached their respective residences, the cardinal paid a visit to Francis, and remained with him two days. The result was an additional treaty, which proves the extreme anxiety of that monarch to secure the friendship, or at least the forbearance of the English king. He was already bound to pay one million of crowns within a fixed period; he now engaged for himself and his successors to pay to Henry, and the heirs of Henry for ever, the yearly sum of one hundred thousand crowns, in the event of the marriage between the dauphin and the princess Mary being afterwards solemnized, and the issue of that marriage seated on the English throne. Moreover, as the affairs of Scotland had long been a source of jealousy and contention between the two crowns, he consented that they should be referred to the amicable determination of the cardinal of York, and of Louisa, his own mother.[1] After these preliminaries, the monarchs rode from their several residences to the valley of Andern, situate within the territory of Guisnes. Their attendants halted on the opposite declivities. Henry and Francis descended into the valley, alighted from their horses, embraced each other, and walked arm-in-arm into a pavilion, which had been prepared for their reception. The next fortnight was consumed in feats of arms, in banquets, and in disguisings. During six days the kings and their associates tilted with spears against all comers; the tourney with the broad-sword on horseback occupied two more; and the last was employed in fighting at the barriers on foot. The

June 4.

June 6.

June 7.

[1] Rym. xiii. 719—722, 723, 724.

CHAP VII. A.D. 1520.

queens of England and France with their ladies and officers beheld the combatants from the galleries; and the heralds daily registered the names, the arms, and the feats of the knights.

On every occasion the two kings appeared with equal splendour, and acquitted themselves with equal applause; their bravest antagonists deemed it no disgrace to yield to royal prowess; and Henry and Francis, though they fought five battles each day, invariably overcame every opponent. Yet amidst this display of friendship, a secret jealousy divided the two nations. Rumours of intended treachery were repeatedly circulated both at Ardres and Guisnes; the attendants on each side were scrupulously numbered; both kings left their respective residences at the same hour; both visited the queens at the same time; both met at the exact spot which had been previously fixed.

June 17. At length the frank and generous temper of Francis spurned at these precautions; and early one morning he rode to Guisnes, surprised Henry in his bed, and told him that he was his prisoner. But, though the English monarch affected to imitate the manner of his brother of France, he could not subdue his apprehensions, and, for greater security, whenever he returned from Ardres, disguised himself and his attendants, that he might not be known. On the last day

June 24. Francis took leave of queen Catherine, and was returning to Ardres, conducted by the cardinal and the duke of Buckingham, when he met a body of maskers, among whom was the king of England. Henry lowered his vizor, and threw a collar of jewels round the neck of the French king, who in return presented his English brother with a bracelet of con-

siderable value. They then embraced, and bade each other farewell.[1]

If Francis flattered himself that in this interview he had made a favourable impression on the English monarch, he was quickly undeceived. He had remarked with surprise that, though the tournament had been proclaimed in the dominions of Charles, not one Spanish or Burgundian gentleman had been suffered to attend; and imprudently betrayed his chagrin by commanding or countenancing an insidious, though unsuccessful, attempt on the neighbouring town of St. Omer. But his jealousy was still more alarmed, when he had learned that, within a few days after his departure, Henry had met his imperial nephew at Wael, had accompanied him to Gravelines, and thence July 10.
had conducted him back to Calais to pay his devoirs July 11.
to his aunt. Every artifice was employed to discover the real object of this second meeting; French spies, in the disguise of maskers, insinuated themselves into the palace; and the French ambassador, La Roche, having obtained an audience of the two monarchs, July 13.
read in their presence the tripartite league formerly concluded between them and Francis, and required Charles to ratify it with his signature as emperor. That prince, however, eluded the demand; and after a visit of three days, returned into his own dominions. July 14.
The result of both these interviews had been in his favour. The first between Henry and Francis had served only to confirm the rivalry, which had so long subsisted between England and France; and the second had afforded him the opportunity of pleasing

[1] Hall, 75—84. Du Bellay, 26. Fleurange Mém. 350. Rutland Papers, 28—49. Chron. of Calais, p. 18, notes, p. 77—90.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1520.

the nation by his affability and condescension, and of flattering the vanity of his uncle, by appointing him umpire in every subsequent difference which might arise between himself and the French monarch.[1]

In the interview at Andern, not only the two kings, but also their attendants, had sought to surpass each other in the magnificence of their dress, and the display of their riches.[2] Of the French nobility it was said that many carried their whole estates on their backs;[3] among the English the duke of Buckingham ventured to express his marked disapprobation of a visit, which had led to so much useless expense. By those writers, who are accustomed to attribute to the counsels of the cardinal every event which occurred under his administration, it has been supposed that resentment for this remark induced Wolsey to bring the duke, by false accusations, to the scaffold. But more authentic documents refer the cause of his ruin to the vanity and imprudence of Buckingham himself, who indulged a notion that he should one day ascend the throne; and to the jealousy and caution of Henry, who was not of a temper to spare the man, from whose ambition he prognosticated danger to himself or his posterity. The duke was descended from Edward the third, both through John of Ghent, duke of Lancaster, and Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester; and had the misfortune to become acquainted with Hopkins, prior of the charter-house at Henton, who pretended to the gift of prophecy,

[1] Hall, 84. Pet. Mart. 373. Rutland Papers, 49, 59.

[2] Polydore complains that on this occasion the English ladies began to adopt the French fashions, and to exchange their native dress for one less becoming.—Polyd. 661.

[3] Plusieurs y porterent leurs moulins, leurs forests, et leurs préz sur leurs épaules. Du Bellay.

and employed that gift to flatter the vanity of his benefactor.

When the expedition sailed to lay siege to Terouenne, Hopkins assured the duke that Henry would return with glory from France, but that James of Scotland, if he should pass the borders, would not live to revisit his dominions. The accomplishment of these predictions made a deep impression on Buckingham's mind; and he listened with pleasure and credulity to the same monk, who sometimes expressed his fear that the king would leave no issue to inherit the throne, at other times affected to foresee something great in the destiny of young Stafford, the duke's son.[1] How far the unfortunate nobleman allowed his ambition to be deluded by these predictions, may be uncertain; but enough had transpired to awaken the suspicion of Henry, who for two years carefully watched, and, sometimes perhaps, unfairly interpreted, his conduct. He had of late greatly augmented the number of his retainers; and among others, Sir William Bulmer had quitted the king's service to enter into that of Buckingham. Before the last voyage to France, the knight was called to the star chamber, where he acknowledged his fault, and on his knees begged for mercy. Henry replied that he pardoned him; but that "he would none of his ser- "vants should hang on another man's sleeve; and "what might be thought by *his* departing, and what "might be supposed by the duke's retaining, he "would not then declare."[2] The meaning of this enigmatical remark was not disclosed till eighteen months afterwards, when Buckingham, who resided

1519. November.

[1] See his own confession in Herbert, 100.

[2] Hall, 69.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1519.

on his estate at Thornbury in Gloucestershire, received a peremptory order to repair to the court. He obeyed, and was followed at a short distance by three knights, who had been secretly instructed not to lose sight of the destined victim. His suspicions were first excited at Windsor, where he was treated with unusual disrespect; they were confirmed at York-place, where the cardinal refused to see him. With a misboding heart he entered his barge; and, as he sailed down the river towards Greenwich, was arrested, and conveyed to the Tower. The cognisance of his guilt was referred to the legitimate tribunal; and before the duke of Norfolk, as high steward, and seventeen other peers, he was charged with having elicited the prophecies of Hopkins by messages, and personal interrogations; with having sought to debauch by promises and presents the fidelity of the king's servants, and of the yeoman of the guard; with having said, when he was reprimanded for retaining Sir William Bulmer, that if he had been ordered into confinement, he would have plunged his dagger into the king's heart; and with having avowed his determination, in the event of Henry's death, to cut off the heads of the cardinal and some others, and to seize the government in defiance of all opponents. The duke first objected that nothing contained in the indictment amounted to an overt act, which was necessary to constitute the guilt of treason; but Fineux, the chief justice, replied that the crime consisted in imagining the death of the king, and that words might be satisfactory evidence of such imagination. He next attempted to refute the separate charges with great force of eloquence, and strong denials of guilt; and

1521. April 16.

May 13.

then demanded that the witnesses might be confronted with him. They were accordingly brought forward—Hopkins the prophet, Delacourt his confessor, Perk his chancellor, and Knevett his cousin, and formerly his steward. The peers consulted in private respecting their verdict; and, when the prisoner was again introduced, the duke of Norfolk with tears informed him that he had been found guilty, and pronounced judgment of death. Buckingham replied with a firm voice: "My lord of Norfolk, you "have said to me as a traitor should be said unto; "but I was never none. Still, my lords, I nothing "malign you for that you have done unto me. May "the eternal God forgive you my death, as I do! I "shall never sue to the king for life: howbeit, he is a "gracious prince, and more grace may come from him "than I desire. I desire you, my lords, and all my "fellows, to pray for me." He persisted in his resolution not to solicit mercy, and was beheaded on Tower-hill, amidst the tears and lamentations of the spectators. "God have mercy on his soul," says the reporter of his trial, "for he was a most wise and "noble prince, and the mirror of all courtesy."[1] May 17.

That the reader may understand the complex nature of the negotiations which are to follow, he should be aware that ever since the king had failed in his attempt to procure the imperial dignity, he had turned his thoughts and ambition towards the crown of France. That crown, so he believed, was his inheritance; if it had been torn from the brows of one of his predecessors by force of arms, why might it not

[1] Year book, Hilary Term, 13 Henry VIII. 1 St. 14 and 15 Henry VIII. 20. Rolls, Henry VIII. p. 105. Stowe, 514. Hall, 85. Herbert, 100. Ellis, i. 176—179. Galt, App. xxiv.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1521.

be replaced by force of arms on his own head, since it was his by hereditary right ?[1] For this, indeed, he stood in need of allies; but where could he seek a more powerful and more interested ally than in the emperor, whose quarrel was similar to his own, and who burned to re-annex to his dominions the ancient patrimony of the house of Burgundy, wrested from his ancestors by the kings of France. This subject had been secretly discussed by Henry and Charles during the late visit of the latter to his uncle : it had led to the proposal of a stricter union between the crowns by the marriage of the emperor with the daughter of Henry ; and that proposal was accompanied with the project of a confederacy for the joint prosecution by the two monarchs of their hereditary rights at a more convenient season. But whilst they thus amused themselves with dreams of future conquests, the flames of war were unexpectedly rekindled by the ambition of Francis, in Spain and Italy, and the Netherlands. The Spaniards did not conceal their dissatisfaction at the conduct of their young sovereign. They complained that their liberties had been infringed, that taxes had been illegally imposed, and that the government had been intrusted to proud and rapacious foreigners, who had followed Charles from Belgium to the peninsula. As long as they were overawed by the presence of the emperor, they confined themselves to murmurs and remonstrances; the moment that he sailed from Spain to England, they unfurled the standard of insurrection. Francis suffered himself to be seduced by so favourable an opportunity. He had summoned Charles to do justice, according

[1] See the correspondence between the king and the cardinal. —St. Pap. i. 36, 46.

to his promise, to the injured queen of Navarre, and received for answer that Spain possessed that kingdom in virtue of an ecclesiastical sentence,[1] the same title by which France held Narbonne and Toulouse, formerly parcels of the kingdom of Arragon. Let Francis restore those provinces, and Charles would surrender Navarre. But the Spanish revolt put an end to the negotiation; the French army burst over the Pyrenees; and in fifteen days Navarre was freed from the yoke of Spain. The insurgents beheld this event with indifference; but the French army no sooner approached Logrono in Castile, than they rallied at the call of their country, repelled the invaders, and recovered Navarre as rapidly as it had been lost. At the same time, to embarrass his adversary on the frontiers of Germany, Francis had encouraged De la Marque, duke of Bouillon, to send a defiance to his sovereign, and to invade the Netherlands at the head of an army, which had been raised in France. The contending parties immediately appealed to Henry; both claimed his aid in virtue of the treaty of 1518. This was certainly the time for him to make common cause with the emperor; but he was taken unawares; he had made no preparations adequate to the gigantic project which he meditated; and therefore he first exhorted each monarch to conclude a peace, and then proposed, that before he should make his election between them, they should appoint commissioners to plead before him or his deputy, that he might be able to compromise the quarrel, or to determine who had been the aggressor. Charles instantly signified his assent. He knew that both the facts and the dates

[1] This refers to the general censure published by Julius against all the adherents of Louis.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1521.

were in his favour; and he had already convinced Henry, by the exhibition of certain intercepted letters, that the invasion of both Spain and the Netherlands had been planned in the French cabinet. Francis wavered, and shaped his conduct by the fortune of the war. He gave, and recalled, his consent. But when he found that, on the investment of Logrono by his troops, the Spanish insurgents, rallying at the call of their country, had driven back the invaders, and reconquered Navarre; that the territory of De la Marque was overrun by an army of forty thousand men in the pay of Charles; and that in Italy the pope had united his forces with the imperialists for the purpose of driving the French beyond the Alps; in these circumstances he condescended to accept the proffered mediation, and to submit his pretensions to the equity of the king or his deputy, refusing, however, at the same time, to be bound by any award, which did not obtain the assent of the chancellor, his chief commissioner.[1]

July 2.

Henry conferred the high dignity of arbitrator on Wolsey, who proceeded to Calais in great state, as the representative of his sovereign. But besides this, the

August 2.

ostensible object of his journey, he had been instructed to attend to the secret and important project of the confederacy with Charles, for the purpose of reclaiming the hereditary dominions of each prince from the grasp of the French monarch. The imperial commissioners were the first to meet the cardinal, who improved the opportunity to draw from them the real sentiments of their sovereign. The next day arrived the French embassy; and both parties proceeded to the

[1] Rym. xiii. 748. Fleuranges, Mém. 286. Muratori, Annali. xiv. 165.

discussion of the professed object of the congress. The French complained that Charles had broken the treaty of Noyon in 1516 by continuing to hold possession of Navarre, and that he refused to do homage for Flanders and Artois, fiefs of the French crown. The imperialists maintained that the treaty of Noyon had been extorted from Charles by fraud and violence, and retorted on their adversaries the late invasion of Spain, and the clandestine support which had been given to the duke of Bouillon. Though the cardinal laboured to soothe the irritation, and moderate the demands of the litigants, they grew daily more warm and obstinate; and at last, Gattinara, the imperial chancellor, declared that it was beneath the dignity of his master to assent to any terms till he had previously received satisfaction from Francis, and that he was confined by his instructions to the mere exposure of the injuries which the emperor had received, and the demand of the aid, to which the king of England was bound by the late treaty.[1]

This declaration afforded, perhaps was meant to afford, the cardinal a pretext for paying a visit to the emperor at Bruges, to which he was secretly bound by his instructions, and warmly solicited by Charles himself.[2] Hitherto he had refused, that he might not awaken suspicion in the mind of the French king; now, however, on Wolsey's complaint of the unsatisfactory answer returned by Gattinara, the French

[1] Peter Mart. 373, 420, 426. Herb. 43. Notices des MSS. du Roi, ii. 60.

[2] St. Pap. 29, 37, 39, 56. Je vous prie sur tous les plaisirs que me vouldriez faire . . vous vouloir trouver à Bruges, dymanche prochain . . . nous ferons plus en ung jour, vous et moi ensemble, que ne feroient mes ambassadeurs en ung mois.—Emperor to Wolsey in Galt, App. xxii.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1521.

joined the imperial commissioners in a request that he would seek a personal interview with the emperor, and obtain from him more extensive powers for his representatives at the congress. The cardinal gladly accepted the office, and with a train of more than four hundred horsemen proceeded to Bruges. By Charles he was received with the most marked attention. Thirteen days were spent in public feasting and private consultation; and before his departure the more important questions were settled respecting the intended marriage, the voyage of Charles by sea to England and Spain, and the time and manner in which he and Henry should conjointly invade France.

August 14.

August 29.

On his return, the conferences were resumed; and the air of impartiality with which the cardinal listened to every representation, joined to the zeal with which he laboured to accommodate every difference, lulled the jealousy of the French envoys, and obtained their unqualified approbation. His first attempt was to establish peace between the two powers; but no reasoning could subdue their obstinacy; and their demands were reciprocally regulated not by justice, but by the oscillating success of the war. The imperialists had taken Mouzon, and formed the siege of Mezières; but they retired at the approach of Francis, who in his turn was checked in the pursuit by the gallantry and address of the count of Nassau. The cardinal at length drew up a project of truce, which compelled the belligerents to recal their armies into their respective territories, and referred the fate of the fortresses, which had been taken, to the arbitration of Henry. It was carried to the emperor by the lord St. John and Sir Thomas Boleyn; to the king of France by the earl of Worcester, and the bishop of Ely. The latter, after a long

Oct. 26

resistance, suffered his consent to be wrung from him by importunity. The former was inexorable; Fontarabia had been lately taken by the admiral Bonnivet; and Charles obstinately demanded its restoration, which Francis as obstinately refused. At last the cardinal, in despair of an accommodation, pronounced his final judgment, that Francis had been the aggressor in the war, and that Henry was bound by treaty to aid his imperial ally.[1] The result of the interview at Bruges was now disclosed, by the conclusion of a league at Calais, in which the contracting parties were the pope, the emperor, and the king of England. It was agreed that in order to restrain the ambition of Francis, and to further the intended expedition against the Turks, each of these powers should in the spring of the year 1523 invade the French territories with a powerful army; that, if Francis did not conclude a peace with the emperor, Henry should declare war against him on the arrival of Charles in England; and that for the common good of Christendom the projected marriage between the dauphin and Mary, the daughter of Henry, should be set aside for the more beneficial marriage of the same princess with the emperor. Before the signature of this treaty Milan had been recovered by the combined forces in Italy; shortly afterwards Tournay surrendered to the arms of the imperialists; and Francis was compelled to content himself with the reduction of the unimportant fortresses of Hesdin and Bouchain.[2]

Nov. 16.

Nov. 30.

[1] That aid by the treaty of 1518 was 6,000 archers. Orders were issued to levy that number, but too late for them to take part in the campaign.—St. Pap. 31—4.

[2] Chron. Catal. 131—136. Belcaire, xiv. Guicciard. 981. Muratori, xiv. 271. Hall, 86—88. Notices des MSS. ii. 60—81.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1521.

The deliverance of Milan from the yoke of France diffused the most extravagant joy throughout the Italian states. The pontiff ordered the event to be celebrated with thanksgivings and games, hastened to Rome, that he might enjoy the triumph of his policy and arms, and entered his capital in high spirits, and apparently in perfect health. Yet a sudden indisposition prevented him from attending a consistory, which he had summoned; and in a few days it was known that he was dead.[1] The news travelled with expedition to England, and Wolsey immediately extended his views to the papal throne. The idea of seating that minister in the chair of St. Peter was not new; it had already formed the subject of several conferences between the king, the emperor, and the cardinal. By Henry it had long been ardently desired; Charles, through policy or inclination, promised his aid; and Wolsey, with a decent affectation of humility, consented to place his shoulders under the burden. He acknowledged his unworthiness and incapacity; it had always been the first wish of his heart to live and die in the service of his native sovereign; yet he felt it his duty to submit to the superior judgment of their imperial and royal majesties; and to sacrifice, since they required it, his own happiness to the repose "and "welfare of Christendom."[2] Yet on the intelligence of Leo's death, all this reluctance vanished; he did not merely submit; he despatched messengers to remind the emperor of his promise, and secretary Pace to sound the disposition of the conclave. In that assembly Giulio de' Medici possessed a majority of suffrages,

Nov. 25.

Dec. 1.

[1] Muratori, xiv. 173.

[2] See the cardinal's letters on this subject in Fiddes, Col. 66.

sufficient indeed to exclude a rival, but not to secure his own election; disappointed himself, he disappointed in his turn the expectations of the cardinals Farnese, Colonna, and Wolsey; and unexpectedly proposed to his colleagues the cardinal Adrian, a native of Utrecht, who from the university of Louvain had been selected as preceptor to Charles, had been afterwards sent into honourable exile by the intrigues of the favourite Chievres, and was at that moment bishop of Tortosa, and viceroy of Spain. Cajetan, who admired the writings, and was acquainted with the virtues of the Belgian, seconded the motion of Giulio; the election of Adrian, though a foreigner, and personally unknown, was carried by acclamation; and within nine years from the time when Julius drove the barbarians out of Italy, a barbarian was seated as his successor on the papal throne.[1] The envoy of Wolsey was instructed to congratulate the new pope on his accession, and to obtain for his employer the prolongation of his legatine authority.

1522. Jan. 9.

Francis, who was aware of the league which had been formed against him, employed the winter in fruitless attempts to recover the friendship of the king of England. He first sought to win him by compliments and flattery, and even condescended to beg that if he would not prove a friend, at least he would not be an opponent; he next demanded the succours to which he was entitled by treaty, and postponed the payment of the annual pension; and at length, as an indemnity to himself, laid an embargo on the English shipping in his ports, and seized all the property of the English merchants. In retaliation Henry confined the French ambassador to his house, ordered all

[1] Pallavicino, l. ii. c. 2. MS. Vitell. B. 5, p. 16.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1522.

Frenchmen in London to be taken into custody, and at length sent to Francis a defiance by Clarenceaux king-at-arms.[1] The emperor himself, as was stipulated in the treaty of Bruges, landed at Dover, and was accompanied by the king through Canterbury, London, and Winchester, to Southampton. Every day was marked by some pageant or entertainment; but while the two princes appeared intent on nothing but their pleasures, the ministers were busily employed in concluding treaties and framing plans of co-operation. It was agreed that each power should make war on Francis with forty thousand men; that Charles should indemnify Henry for all the moneys which might be withheld from him in consequence of this treaty; that the king should not give his daughter in marriage, nor the emperor marry any other person, before the princess Mary was of mature age; that when she had completed her twelfth year they should be married by proxy; and that, if either party violated this engagement, the defaulter should forfeit the sum of five hundred thousand crowns. At Southampton the emperor took leave of the king, and embarked on board his fleet of one hundred and eighty sail, the command of which, in compliment to his uncle, he had given to the earl of Surrey, lord admiral of England.[2]

May 26.

June 19.

July 1

[1] Fiddes, 252—254. Rym. xiii. 764. Hall, 92, 94.

[2] Herb. 115, 119. Rutland Papers, 59—100. Godwin, 22, 23. By the treaty of Bruges, Henry was not to declare against Francis till the emperor had visited him in England. To hasten the declaration Charles announced his intention of coming on the 10th of April; and Wolsey thinking that day too early, suggests among other reasons for delay, "then shulde yoor grace and he be enfourced to "labour in Palme Sundaye weke, being named Ebdomeda sancta, "which were not convenient for princes, ne for meaner personnages, "but rather to be occupied in praier and contemplation?"—State Pap. i. 95.

That nobleman had succeeded to the earl of Kildare in the government of Ireland, where by his generosity he won the esteem, while by his activity he repressed the disorders, of the natives. But the reputation which he had acquired by his conduct in the field of Flodden induced the king to recall him to England, that he might assume the command of the army destined for the invasion of France. That army, however, existed only upon paper; the money necessary for its support was yet to be raised; and to supply these deficiencies required all the art of Wolsey, aided by the despotic authority of the king. Commissioners were despatched into the different shires, with instructions to inquire what was the annual rent of the lands and houses in each township, what the names of the owners and occupiers, and what the value of each man's moveable property; and moreover, to array in the maritime counties, under the pretext of an apprehended invasion, all men between the age of sixteen and sixty, and to enrol their names, and the names of the lords whose tenants they were.[1] As a temporary expedient, a loan of twenty thousand pounds was exacted from the merchants of London; and after a decent respite, the cardinal, in quality of royal commissioner, called the citizens before him, and required that every individual supposed to be worth one hundred pounds should certify upon oath the real value of his property. They remonstrated that to many men "their credit was better than their substance;" and the cardinal, relaxing from the rigour of his first demand, consented to accept their respective returns in writing, which he promised should not on any pretext be afterwards divulged. With this preparatory know-

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1522.

March 6.

March 20.

August 2.

[1] Stowe, 316. Rym. 770.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1522.

ledge he was enabled to raise men, and supply himself with money as it was wanted. Precepts under the great seal were issued at his discretion, ordering some persons to levy a certain number of men among their tenants, and others to advance to the king a certain sum of money, which generally amounted to a tenth from the laity, and a fourth from the clergy. It was, however, promised at the same time, that the lenders should be indemnified from the first subsidy to be granted by parliament.[1]

At length the earl mustered his army under the walls of Calais, and found himself at the head of twelve thousand men paid by the king, of four thousand volunteers, and of one thousand German and Spanish horse. With this force he marched through the Boulonnois and Artois into the vicinity of Amiens, carefully avoiding the fortified towns, and devoting to the flames every house and village which fell in his way; while the French, who had been forbidden to risk an engagement, hovered, in small bodies, round the invaders, sometimes checking their progress, and at other times intercepting the stragglers. But the season proved the most formidable enemy. Cold and rain introduced a dysentery into the camp; the foreigners hastily retired to Bethune, and the earl led back his followers to Calais. It was an expedition which reflected little lustre on the English arms; but it enriched the adventurers, and inflicted a severe injury on the unfortunate inhabitants.

Aug. 31.

Oct. 16.

In the early part of the summer Francis, that he might divert the attention of the king, sought to raise up enemies to Henry both in Ireland and Scotland.

[1] Hall, 101, 102, 105. Herb. 121, 122. Fiddes, Collect. 92.

1. In Ireland he addressed himself to the chief of the house of Desmond, a family which still refused to acknowledge more than a nominal dependence on the English crown; and the earl of that name, seduced by the hopes which were held out to him, signed a treaty by which, in return for an annual pension, he engaged to join the French army as soon as it should land in Ireland, and never to lay down his arms till he had conquered a portion of the island for himself, and the remainder for Richard de la Pole, the representative of the house of York. But Francis had obtained his object, by the very alarm which his treaty created. He forgot his engagement to Desmond; the army was never sent, the pension never paid; and the misguided earl had full leisure to lament the imprudence with which he had listened to the suggestions and promises of his deceitful ally.[1] 2. In Scotland Francis found a more able and equally willing associate in the duke of Albany. That prince had returned to assume the government at the invitation of Margaret, the queen dowager, who had quarrelled with her husband on account of his amours, and with her brother on account of his parsimony. In February the truce between the two nations expired; and every attempt to renew it failed, through the obstinacy of Albany, who sought to include the French, and of Henry, who insisted on the immediate departure of the duke himself from Scotland. War succeeded of course; the earl of Shrewsbury was ordered to array the men of the northern counties; and Albany, having received supplies and instructions from Francis, assembled the Scottish army at Annan. Thence he marched at the head, it is said, of eighty thousand

Aug. 4.

[1] Du Chesne, 1005. St. Pap. ii. 198. not.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1522.

men, with forty-five pieces of brass ordnance; while the English general, without men or money, had no force to oppose to the invaders. But the storm was dispersed by the address of the lord Dacre, warden of the western marches. He assumed a tone of bold

Sept. 9.

defiance, boasted of the numerous army hastening to his aid; alluded to the disaster which had befallen the Scots at Flodden Field; and, after some debate,

Sept. 11.

granted to the pusillanimous duke a month's abstinence from war, that he might have time to solicit peace from the indulgence of Henry. Albany engaged to disband his army; Dacre to forbid the advance of the English forces, which instead of being on their march, were not in reality assembled. Wolsey, amazed at the result, characterized the regent in one of his letters to Henry as "a coward and a fool."[1]

1523.

The minister's chief embarrassment at this period arose from the exhausted state of the treasury. Immense sums had been wastefully lavished in entertainments and presents to foreign princes: the king's annual pension was no longer paid by Francis, nor could it be expected from Charles during the war; and policy forbade him to have recourse to a forced loan after the experiment of the last summer. Henry, following the example of his father, had governed during eight years without the aid of the great council of the nation; but his necessities now compelled him

April 15.

to summon a parliament to meet at the Black Friars; and Sir Thomas More, a member of the council, was, by the influence of the court, chosen speaker of the commons. After some days the cardinal carried to

April 29.

that house a royal message, showing from the conduct

[1] See the account compiled from the original letters by Mr. Pinkerton, i. 109—210.

of Francis that the war was just and necessary; estimating the expenses of the intended armament at eight hundred thousand pounds, and proposing to raise that sum by a property tax of twenty per cent The commons, astonished at this unprecedented demand, preserved the most obstinate silence. It was in vain that Wolsey called on different members by name, and asked them for a reasonable answer. At length he exclaimed: "Masters, unless it be the "manner of your house (as very likely it may) by "your speaker only in such cases to expresss your "mind, here is without doubt a most marvellous "silence." Sir Thomas More, bending the knee, replied that they felt abashed in the presence of so great a personage; that, according to the ancient liberties of the house, they were not bound to return an answer; and that he as speaker could make no reply, until he had received their instructions.[1] Wolsey retired in discontent; the debate was adjourned from day to day; and a deputation was appointed to solicit a diminution of the demand. The cardinal again repaired to the house, answered the arguments which had been employed by the leaders of the opposition; and begged that they would reason with him on the subject. They replied, that they

[1] The cardinal afterwards sent for the speaker. "Would to "God," said he, "Master More, you had been at Rome, when I "made you speaker." "Your grace not offended," he replied, 'so would I too, my lord."—More's Life of Sir T. More, p. 51; Roper's, 11; Stapleton's, 285. If this be true, Wolsey soon forgot the offence, for at the dissolution of parliament, he wrote to the king for the usual reward of 200*l.* to More, as speaker, because "no man could better deserve the same than he had done;" adding, "I am the rather moved to put your highness in remembrance "thereof, because he is not the most ready to speake and solicite "his own cause."—State Papers, i. 124.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1523.

would hear whatever he might say, but would reason only among themselves. After his departure they agreed to a tax upon every kind of property, of five per cent. for two years, to be continued during the third year on fees, pensions, and rents of land, and during the fourth year on moveables only. The king in return published a general pardon.[1]

May 29.

The grant required of the clergy amounted to fifty per cent. on the yearly income of their benefices; and as the demand was higher than that made on the laity, so was their resistance proportionately more obstinate. The convocations of the two provinces had assembled after the usual manner; when Wolsey, conceiving that he should possess more influence in an assembly under his own immediate control, summoned them both, by his legatine authority, to meet him in a national synod in the abbey of Westminster.

April 20.

April 22.

The proctors, however, argued, that, as the powers which they held were confined to grants to be made in convocation, no acts which they might perform in the synod could legally bind their constituents; and the cardinal reluctantly suffered them to depart, and to vote their money according to the ancient method. The convocation of his own province awaited the determination of the convocation of Canterbury. In the lower house the opposition was led by a popular preacher of the name of Philips, whose silence was at length purchased by the policy of the court; in the higher, the bishops of Winchester and Rochester persisted in animating the prelates to resist so ex-

[1] The five northern counties, Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, Westmoreland, and Chester, were exempt from the tax, on account of the Scottish war; the Cinque Ports in virtue of their charter, and Ludlow in consequence of a grant from Edward IV., confirmed by Henry VII. and Henry VIII.—Rolls, 87, 89.

orbitant a demand. Four months passed in this manner; at last a compromise was made; the clergy voted the amount, the cardinal consented that it should be levied in five years at ten per cent. each year. He held, however, his legatine council, but more for parade than utility, and to cover the disgrace of the defeat which he had suffered in the first attempt.[1] Aug. 18.

The money thus extorted from the laity and clergy was lavishly expended in repelling an invasion of the Scots, in supporting an expedition into France, and in furnishing aid to the allies in Italy. 1. The duke of Albany, after his inglorious negotiation with Lord Dacre, had left Scotland; but the principal lords remained constant in their attachment to France, and impatiently expected his return with supplies of men and money. To Henry, meditating a second expedition to the continent, it was of importance to provide for the defence of his northern frontier. He sought a reconciliation with his sister Queen Margaret, that he might set her up in opposition to Albany; and gave the chief command in the north to the earl of Surrey, son to the victor of Flodden Field, with instructions to purchase the services of the Scottish lords with money, and to invade and lay waste the Scottish borders, that they might be incapable of supplying provisions to a hostile army. Margaret gladly accepted the overture, and consented to conduct her son (he was only in his twelfth year) to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and to announce by proclamation that he had assumed the government, provided the English general would march a strong force to her support. Surrey repeatedly entered the marches,

[1] Wilk. Con. iii. 701. Strype, i. 49.

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spread around the devastation of war, and at last reduced to ashes the large town of Jedburgh.[1] But on that very day Albany landed at Dumbarton with two thousand soldiers, and a great quantity of stores and ammunition.[2] The projects of Margaret were instantly crushed; at the call of the parliament the whole nation rose in arms; and on the Burrow muir the regent saw above sixty thousand men arrayed round his standard. When Surrey considered the numbers of the enemy and the paucity of his own followers, he trembled for the result; by repeated letters he importuned the council for reinforcements; to the king he wrote to send to the camp all the young lords, who wasted their time at court in cards, dice, and balls, and recommended his family to the royal notice, if it should be his lot to fall in the approaching battle.[3] His hopes were however raised by the suc-

Sept. 23.

Oct. 8.

Oct. 23.

[1] Of the havoc occasioned by these inroads, the reader may judge from a letter to the cardinal, dated August 31, in this year. "The "earl of Surrey hath so devasted and destroyed all Tweedale and "March, that there is left neither house, fortress, village, tree, "cattle, corn, or other succour for man; insomuch that some "of the people that fled from the same, afterwards returning "and finding no sustenance, were compelled to come unto Eng- "land begging bread, which oftentimes when they do eat, they die "incontinently for the hunger passed. And with no imprisonment, "cutting off their ears, burning them in their faces, or otherwise, "can be kept away."—Apud Fiddes, Collect. p. 111; also Ellis, i. 214.

[2] Most writers make them amount to twice the number, but Lord Dacre assures the earl of Surrey on the authority of his spy, a credible person who was at Dumbarton when Albany arrived, and who followed him to Edinburgh, that the armament consisted of three large ships and thirty small ones, bringing 2,000 men, one hundred of whom were gens d'armes, and four "double canons, "fawcons, hag-bushes, hand-gonnes, cross-bowes, gonne-stones of "stone, and gonne-powder."

[3] Among other things, he requested to have a body of 4,000 Germans attached to his army, for two purposes: 1. that they might teach the English to observe the order of battle; 2. that he might

cessive arrival of troops, that swelled his army from nine to fifty thousand men; and having supplied Wark, Norham, and Berwick with competent garrisons, he hastened to Belford, to watch the motions of the regent. That leader fixed his head-quarters at Eccles, and undertook the siege of Wark. Having battered the walls with his artillery, he ordered the Frenchmen to storm the breach; they obtained possession of the outer court and penetrated into the interior ward, but after a long struggle were expelled by the exertions of the garrison. The next day the English were in motion; Albany trembled at the name of the hero of Flodden Field; and at midnight the Scottish army retired in confusion to Lauder amidst a heavy fall of snow. "Undoubtedly," exclaims Surrey in his despatch to the king, "there was "never man departed with more shame or more fear, "than the duke has done to-day."[1] The result of this expedition, combined with the remembrance of the last, overturned the authority of Albany; and after an ineffectual attempt to retain the regency, he sailed for France, never more to set foot in Scotland. His departure enabled Margaret to resume the ascendancy, and proclaim her son; but her imperious temper, and scandalous familiarity with Henry Stuart, the son of Lord Evendale, alienated her friends; her application to Francis and Albany was received with indifference; and her husband, the earl of Angus, under the protection of Henry, took upon himself the office of regent. This revolution led to more friendly

Oct. 26.
Oct. 30.
Nov. 1.
Nov. 2.
Nov. 3.
1524. May 20.

be able to oppose pikemen to pikemen.—Cal. B. vi. 238. The reader will recollect that they were the Scottish pikemen who bore down the right wing in the battle of Flodden.

[1] Cal. B. vi. 306 Ellis, i. 232.

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relations between the two kingdoms, with the hope of obtaining aid from France the war terminated; truce succeeded to truce; and the borders of both countries enjoyed a long cessation from hostilities during eighteen years.[1]

1523.

2. When Francis supplied Albany with troops and money, he had flattered himself that the Scottish invasion would detain the English forces at home, and afford him leisure to pursue his intended expedition into Italy, where of all his former conquests he retained only the citadel of Cremona. To oppose

July.

him, a league for the defence of Lombardy had been concluded between the emperor, his brother Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, the Venetians, and Francesco Sforza, the reigning duke of Milan; and to this con-

Aug. 3.

federacy had afterwards acceded the pope, the kings of England and Hungary, and the republics of Florence, Sienna, and Genoa. His open enemies the French king feared not to oppose with open force; but he was ignorant of the dark and dangerous conspiracy, which from the heart of his dominions threatened to precipitate him from the throne, and to dismember the monarchy. Among the French nobility no one was more illustrious by birth, more distinguished by talent, or more formidable by wealth and connections, than Charles, duke of Bourbon, constable of the kingdom. Francis had, however, wounded his feelings by affronts, Louise, the mother of Francis, by claiming the lands which he held in right of his deceased wife; and the duke, prompted by resentment, lent a willing ear to the suggestions of the lord of Beaurain and Sir John Russell, secret envoys from

[1] Fiddes, 318—324. Pinkerton, ii. 131.

Charles and Henry.[1] It was determined that as soon as Francis should have crossed the Alps, the English should invade Picardy, the Germans in the pay of England, Burgundy, and the Spaniards, Guienne, and that at the same moment Bourbon should unfurl his standard in the centre of the kingdom, and call around him the friends of his family, whom he numbered at two hundred gentlemen with their retainers. Confident that Francis could never make head against so formidable an alliance, each of the contracting parties indulged in the most magnificent but delusive anticipations. Henry already felt the crown of France fixed on his own head; Charles saw himself in possession of Burgundy, the patrimony of his forefathers; and Bourbon already governed his duchy and the county of Provence as a sovereign prince. The last, that he might not accompany the French army to Italy, feigned indisposition, and was visited in his bed by Francis at the castle of Molins. The king had received some dark hints of the plot; but the apparent candour of Bourbon dispelled his suspicions; and he proceeded in security to Lyons, where he was informed that the sick man had already fled in disguise out of France. This intelligence disconcerted his former plans. Bonivet with the greater part of the army was ordered to enter Lombardy; the king remained to make head against his numerous enemies; who were already in motion. The duke of Suffolk, the English general, had been joined by the impe- Sept. 4

[1] Henry affected to consider this attempt as a just retaliation for the alliance between Francis and Desmond. But privately he required, as king of France, an oath of fealty, and the bond of homage from Bourbon as his vassal. After many evasions, Bourbon yielded to the first, but refused the latter as contrary to the terms of the alliance.—See Fiddes and Turner.

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rialists under the count De Buren; and twenty thousand men were detained under the walls of St. Omer, while it was debated in council whether they should open the campaign with the siege of Boulogne, or march though France to form a junction with the army from Germany. The latter plan, but against the wish of Henry, was adopted; the allied generals, though carefully watched by the duke of Vendome, traversed Artois and Picardy, crossed the Somme and

Oct. 16.

the Oise, alarmed the unwarlike citizens of Paris, and sought their German friends in the neighbourhood of Laon. But to the Germans had been opposed the duke of Guise, who with an inferior force arrested their progress, and by intercepting their provisions, compelled them to evacuate the French territory.

Nov. 8.

Disappointed in their hopes, the allies retraced their steps in the direction of Valenciennes; a continuance of rainy weather, succeeded by a long and intense frost, multiplied diseases in their camp; the men perished daily in considerable numbers; and the two generals by common consent broke up the army. The king, who had already sent orders to Suffolk to spend the winter on the French frontier, received the intelligence with strong expressions of displeasure; and it required all the address of the cardinal to excuse the conduct of the duke, and to screen him from the resentment of his sovereign.[1]

The emperor had not yet accomplished the invasion of Guienne, to which he had bound himself by treaty. It was indeed long before he could procure from the Cortes a grant of money to put his German auxiliaries

[1] Compare Hall (113, 114, 116—121) with the cardinal's despatches in Fiddes (Collect. 73, 106, 108, 109, 112), and Du Bellay (Mémoires, 75). State Pap. i. 130—140.

in motion; their arrival was retarded by unforeseen impediments; and at last the Spanish lords refused to entangle themselves in the dangerous defiles of the Pyrenees during the severity of the winter. But Charles replied that he wanted not their advice but their obedience; and that he should consider as his personal enemy every man who remained behind. They accompanied him to the walls of Fontarabia; and at the end of three months that fortress opened its gates.[1]

3. Italy, however, became the principal theatre, as it was the great object, of the war. From the foot of Mount Cenis, Bonivet poured his followers, consisting of Frenchmen, Germans, and Swiss, over the north of Lombardy; Asti, Alessandria, Novara, yielded to the torrent; nor was its progress arrested till it had reached the walls of Milan. That capital, defended by the valour of a numerous garrison, and by the hatred of the inhabitants, who had already experienced the tyranny of a French master, defied the power and intrigues of the invaders; and Bonivet, after a siege of some weeks, was compelled by the inclemency of the season to retire into winter quarters in Rosate and Biagrasso. In the meantime Pope Adrian died; an event which suspended the march of the papal troops, and rekindled the expiring hopes of the English cardinal. The king immediately claimed of the emperor the execution of his former engagement in favour of Wolsey. That minister requested him to intimidate the conclave by the advance of the imperial army; and the English envoys at Rome received orders to spare neither money nor promises to secure the tiara. They were, however, furnished with

Nov. 15

Sept. 14

[1] Pet. Mart. 427, 467.

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two sets of letters, to be employed according to circumstances; the one recommending the elevation of the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, the other that of the royal favourite. The conclave lasted six weeks; several candidates were successively rejected; and the name of the English cardinal was again brought forward; but the real struggle lay between the French and imperial factions, of which the first, after a long resistance, gave way, and Giulio was chosen at the unexpected nomination of his chief antagonist Pompeo Colonna. He took the name of Clement VII. For this disappointment Wolsey consoled himself with the belief that his ambition would have been gratified, had not the populace of Rome assembled in crowds under the windows of the conclave, and demanded with shouts of intimidation an Italian pope. It is more probable that his exclusion was owing to the obstinacy of the French cardinals, who would never concur in the choice of a man, the most dangerous opponent of their sovereign.[1]

Nov. 19.

During the winter Henry meditated the conquest of Normandy; but for the execution of his plan he required the aid of Bourbon, whose services could not be spared from the intended campaign in Italy. Charles had employed every resource to recruit his forces; while the French army was unaccountably suffered to dwindle away by disease and desertion. Bonivet soon found it necessary to retire from Biagrasso, followed and harassed by a more numerous

1524. February.

[1] Fiddes, Collect. p. 74. MS. Vitell. B. 5, p. 233. Burnet, ii. Rec. p. 192, iii. Records, p. 10—12. Pallavic. 217. Lettere di Principi, i. 100. Sa majesté (l'empereur) n'a pas voulu employer son armée d'Italie à faire le dit cardinal Pape par force, comme luy avoit fait requerir par lettres du Roy son maistre, et requis par lettres de sa main.—Le Grand, iii. 46.

enemy. He reached Marignano in safety; but, in crossing the Sessia, was defeated with the loss of several distinguished officers, and among them of the chevalier Bayard. From that hour the retreat was changed into a precipitate flight; the French garrisons surrendered at the first summons, and in a few days not a Frenchman was to be found in arms on the soil of Italy. Bourbon, urged by past success and the thirst of revenge, now proposed to carry the flames of war into the heart of his own country; and Charles, though his own generals opposed him, adopted the plan of the exile. Henry, indeed, taught by the result of the last campaign, refused to create a diversion by an invasion of Picardy; but he consented to pay one half of the expenses, which had been estimated at one hundred thousand crowns. The marquess of Pescara took the command of the army, amounting to no more than seventeen thousand men; but they were veterans inured to war and victory, and expected to be joined by the numerous friends and partisans of the house of Bourbon in France. The resentment of the duke was, however, disappointed by the inconstancy of the imperial councils; and the army, instead of marching on Lyons, turned to the left to reduce Marseilles, that Charles, like his English uncle, might possess a commodious harbour within the territory of France. But Marseilles was protected by the patriotism of the citizens and the bravery of the garrison; a numerous army was hastily collected at Avignon for its relief; and at the expiration of forty days the siege was raised with terror and precipitation. In defiance of the entreaties of his mother, and the advice of his council, Francis once more aspired to the conquest of Milan; and it became a contest of speed between the two

May.

Aug. 19.

Sept. 29

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armies, which should be the first to obtain possession of that capital. The French, with their accustomed activity, hastened by the beaten road over Mount Cenis; the imperialists, with indefatigable perseverance, worked their way through the ravines, and over the rocks of the Riviera del Mare. When the former arrived at Vercelli, the latter had reached Alva; thence they marched with rapidity to Milan; but, finding that a pestilential disease raged within the walls, they threw a garrison into the castle, and quitted the city by the Porta Romana, as their pursuers entered by the Porta Ticinese. It was thought, that if Francis had continued to follow the enemy, he might by one blow have terminated the war; but he turned aside to besiege the strong city of Pavia, defended by Antonio da Leyva with a garrison of six thousand men. For three months the attack and defence of the place were conducted with equal obstinacy and equal confidence of success; but the French monarch imprudently divided his strength by detaching Albany, the late regent of Scotland, to invade the kingdom of Naples, who was opposed on his march by the Colonnesi, and advanced no further than the walls of Rome.[1]

Oct. 28.

We may now revert to the transactions in England, and trace the origin of that dissension, which gradually led to the dissolution of the friendship between Henry and Charles. In the beginning of the year the archbishop of Capua received a commission from Clement to proceed to the different powers at war, and to make them an offer of the papal mediation. The king of England replied, that he should never separate his

[1] Du Bellay, 100. Muratori, 198—209.

interests from those of his nephew; but that, if any negotiation should take place before his holiness, it would be proper that a secret but accredited agent from the French cabinet should be sent both to the imperial and the English courts. Within a few weeks an Italian, named Giovanni Joacchino, in the service of Louise, regent of France during her son's absence, appeared at Boulogne in quality of a merchant; and solicited a passport to England.[1] On his arrival, Wolsey acquainted De Praet, the imperial ambassador, with the real character of this pretended merchant; but at the same time promised to communicate to that minister whatever overtures might be made through his agency. Suspicion, however, was excited by the frequent interviews between the cardinal and Joacchino; at the end of eight months De Praet could no longer conceal his alarm; and in his letters to the emperor, and to Margaret, the governess of the Netherlands, he disclosed his apprehensions, and the grounds on which he had formed them. On one of these occasions, his messenger was stopped on the road as a vagrant, probably by the contrivance of the cardinal; and the despatches which he carried were deciphered, and read before the council. Both Charles and Margaret immediately complained of the insult which had been offered to them in the arrest of their servant; but Wolsey, to justify himself, attributed it to accident; declared that he had faithfully communicated to De Praet every proposal made by the French agent; and protested that nothing could be further from his wish than to foment dissensions between his sovereign and the emperor. It must be acknowledged

1525. Jan. 5

[1] Joacchino was a Genoese, seigneur de Vaux et Passy, counsellor and steward of the household to Louise.—Rym. passim.

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that the transaction wears a very suspicious appearance; but his assertion is borne out by the tenour of his despatches both immediately preceding, and immediately following, this quarrel.[1] Suspecting that Clement was inclined to favour the cause of France, he had instructed the bishop of Bath to remind the pontiff of his obligations to the king and the emperor, and to warn him of the evils to which he would expose the church of Germany, by offending the only prince who would protect it against the enmity of the reformers.[2] Sir John Russell received orders to pay fifty thousand crowns as a reward to the army of the duke of Bourbon, with discretionary powers to add five or ten thousand more, if it were necessary or expedient; Pace was commanded to urge the Venetians to seize the defiles of the Alps, and intercept the reinforcements which were on their march to join Francis; and Sir Gregory da Casale was instructed to concert with Lannoy, the viceroy of Naples, means to protect that kingdom against the forces of Albany, and to preserve Milan from the dominion of France.[3]

[1] Fiddes, 313—318. Hall, 125—135. State Pap. i. 151.

[2] The following passage does honour to the cardinal. "Herein "to say the truth, and to acquit myself of my duty and most tender "zeal towards his holiness, I cannot see how it may stand with the "pleasure of Almighty God, that the heads of the church should "thus involve and mix themselves, and the state by conjunction, "unto temporal princes in the wars; but that, as I verily suppose, "since the leagues offensive and defensive, or both, have been used "to be made in the name of the pope, God has stricken and sent "affliction to the holy church."—Fiddes, 305.

[3] Fiddes, 308, 309. Collect. 117. I have entered into this detail that the reader may judge of the credit due to an assertion first made by the imperialists, and since taken for granted by historians, that the subsequent alliance between Henry and Francis, and the divorce of Queen Catherine, were suggested by Wolsey, in order to revenge himself on the emperor for the disappointment of his hopes with respect to the papacy. For eighteen months after that disappointment

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But this anxiety of Wolsey was entirely superfluous. Before his despatches could reach the theatre of war, Italy had been saved, and Francis was a captive in the hands of the emperor. Though Leyva had successfully repelled every assault of the besiegers, he beheld with dismay the rapid approach of famine; and communicated his situation to the imperial generals in the following laconic note: "Either come to us, or we "must cut our way to you." The French army lay strongly entrenched under the walls of Pavia; and its rear-guard was posted in the beautiful castle of Mirabello, situate in an extensive park, which had been inclosed with a high and solid wall. The allies Feb. 24 having, to conceal their design, made false attacks during several days, marched silently at midnight to the park; a body of pioneers began to demolish the wall; before daylight the army entered through a breach one hundred paces in length; and at dawn the castle was carried by surprise. Francis hastily and unadvisedly drew his troops out of their entrenchments, and marched to oppose the enemy. Of the battle which followed it is difficult to form any distinct idea from the confused narratives of the original writers. But the French were harassed in the rear by the garrison; they were deprived of the use of their artillery by interposing themselves between their trenches and the allies; and their gendarmerie, after gaining some advantages, was broken by a strong

no traces of disaffection appear in his despatches, but the most eager desire to promote the common cause of the allies. If he objected to the invasion of France till the imperialists had obtained some decided advantage, and suspended the remittances to Bourbon's army till the emperor fulfilled his pecuniary engagements, he did nothing more than his duty, after the want of good faith which he had hitherto experienced.

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body of Spanish musketeers. The Swiss in the pay of Francis did not maintain their former reputation, but turned their backs at the first charge; and the German auxiliaries, who fought with the bravery of despair, were slain to a man. The king saw the most faithful of his nobles fall around him; he had received two slight wounds in the face, and one in the hand; his horse was killed under him; and still he refused to surrender to the Spaniards, by whom he was surrounded. Fortunately, Pomperant, a French gentleman in the service of Bourbon, recognized his sovereign, and called Lannoy, who kneeling, kissed the king's hand, received his sword, and in return gave his own, saying that it did not become a monarch to appear unarmed in the presence of a subject. With Francis were taken the nominal king of Navarre, the bastard of Savoy, and many distinguished noblemen. The slain amounted to more than eight thousand men, among whom were several captains of rank, and, to the great satisfaction of Henry, Richard de la Pole, the pretender to the English throne.[1]

In London the victory of Pavia was announced to the citizens with every demonstration of joy. A day of thanksgiving was appointed; the cardinal officiated at St. Paul's; and the king assisted in state with the ambassadors of the allies. To derive every possible advantage from the captivity of Francis, Tunstall, bishop of London, and Wyngfield, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, were despatched to the imperial court, with instructions to place every obstacle in their power to the liberation of the royal prisoner; and to propose that Henry and Charles should invade France

[1] Pet. Mart. p. 484. Du Bellay, 117. Guicciard. 1084.

in concert; that they should meet each other at Paris; and that the king of England should ascend the French throne as his lawful inheritance, while the emperor should recover those provinces to which he laid claim as representative of the house of Burgundy.[1] But to execute this gigantic plan required a copious supply of money; and, though the time allotted for the late taxes was not expired, yet their produce had been already anticipated. To another parliament the king felt an insuperable objection; for the last had not only cut down the amount of his demand, but had also deferred the grant till after the time when it was most wanted. He therefore resolved to raise money by the royal prerogative; a fourth was demanded of the clergy, a sixth of the laity; and commissioners were named to levy the new subsidy in the different counties. But the clergy made the most obstinate resistance. They replied, that the commission was contrary to the liberties of the realm; that the king could take no man's goods but by due order of law; and that therefore they would pay nothing more than they had already granted in convocation. They even preached these doctrines from the pulpit, and by words and example animated the people to resistance. Informed of the general feeling by the commissioners, the king reluctantly issued a proclamation, stating that he demanded no particular sum, but would rely on the "benevolence" of his subjects, and accept whatever they might individually think proper to give. But this expedient did not succeed. It was replied, that benevolences had been declared illegal by act of parliament. In London the citizens by their unanimity

April 26.

[1] Fiddes, 327—332.

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eluded the artifices, the prayers, and the arguments of Wolsey; in Kent, the commissioners were insulted and put to flight; in Suffolk, four thousand men took up arms, but were persuaded to return to their homes by the duke of Norfolk; and at length Henry, by a proclamation published, as was pretended, at the earnest request of the cardinal, remitted to his subjects all the demands which he had made. Thus the spirit of the clergy and people triumphed over the despotism of the king and the wiles of his minister, and this attempt to invade, served only to strengthen and perpetuate, the liberties of the nation.[1]

May 19.

Before the arrival of the English envoys the invasion of France had been debated and rejected in the imperial cabinet. Charles, though the lord of so many nations, could not raise a single crown without the consent of his subjects; and, instead of being able to defray the expense of a new expedition, had not wherewith to liquidate the arrears of his victorious army in Italy; while France, though humbled by the captivity of her king and the loss of the mercenary Germans and Swiss who followed her standard, still preserved her native strength unimpaired. On these grounds, the emperor preferred negotiation to war, forbade by proclamation any inroad into the French territory, and cheerfully consented to an armistice during the six following months. To the proposal of the ambassadors he replied, that, as the game was already inclosed in the toils, they had nothing more to do than to make the most of their good fortune; and for that purpose he requested both the king and the cardinal to empower the English agents to co-

[1] Hall, 137—142.

operate with the imperial ministers in settling the terms on which Francis should recover his liberty.[1] From his letters it is plain that he had no wish to dissolve his alliance with Henry; but it is also true that his displeasure at the conduct of the English cabinet, joined to the great superiority which he had obtained, made him less solicitous to flatter the vanity of his uncle, or to retain the friendship of the favourite. 1. The insult which he had received in the person of his ambassador had sunk deep into his breast; nor was the subsequent treatment of De Praet of a nature to soothe his resentment. That minister was become the object of Wolsey's hatred; his character was publicly lampooned; his life was even menaced; and at last (whether through apprehension, or the orders of his court, is uncertain) he privately left London, and by extraordinary exertions reached Madrid before the arrival of Tunstall and Wyngfield.[2] April 11. 2. The constant residence of Joacchino in the neighbourhood of Westminster was another source of suspicion and uneasiness; nor could Charles be persuaded that more did not pass in the interviews between him and the cardinal than the latter chose to avow.[3] 3. By letters which had been intercepted at sea, he had learned that the princess Mary, though she had been contracted to him for years, had been secretly offered in marriage both to the king of Scotland and the king of France; and

[1] Qu'il pouvoit demeurer en repos; qu'ayant le cerf dans ses toiles, il ne faloit songer qu'à partager la nape.—Ambass. de M. de Tarbes, apud Le Grand, Histoire du Divorce, i. 41. Id. iii. 40.

[2] Hall, 139. Il fut audit royaume d'Angleterre maltraité, menassé, prins les lettres qu'il escrivoit à sadite majesté, et icelles ouvertes par les ministres dudit roy contre tous droits divin et humain.—Charles's memorial against Henry, apud Le Grand, iii. 40. Rymer's inedited papers, Hen. VIII. vol. iii. 43.

[3] Le Grand, iii. 39. Fiddes, 330.

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to put Henry's sincerity to the test, he now formally demanded her as his wife, promising that if she were conveyed to the Low Countries, she should be proclaimed empress, and should be received with the honours due to that high dignity. The king denied the charge, but refused to part with his only daughter at so early an age. He would, however, pledge himself to deliver her, whenever Charles would enable him to receive the crown of France in Paris, or would give to him in exchange the captive monarch.[1]

If we may credit the assertion of Henry, it was the cold and supercilious tone now assumed by Charles, and the little attention paid to his counsels, which alienated him from his nephew; perhaps if he had faithfully analyzed the workings of his own breast, he would have discovered that he was also envious of the elevation to which the young emperor had been raised by the battle of Pavia, and began to fear from his superior power that danger to the liberties of Europe which he had formerly imputed to the ambition of Francis. There was another reason which weighed still more powerfully with his minister. In the present embarrassed state of the finances it was necessary to procure money from some source or other. His recent failure had taught him that he could not extort it from the people, and he knew that to expect it from the justice or the gratitude of Charles was useless. France alone presented a certain resource. By a separate negotiation with that power, he would be enabled to dictate the conditions of peace; and besides preventing the extraordinary expenses incident to a state of war, might insist on the payment

[1] Le Grand, iii. 39. Hall, 136. Fiddes, 331.

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of the large sums due to England from France by the former conventions. To the first overture from Joacchino he returned a most favourable answer; an armistice granted for forty days was soon prolonged to four months; and during the suspension of arms, an alliance offensive and defensive was concluded between the two crowns. The French cabinet purchased this advantage with the following sacrifices. It consented,—1. To pay to Henry, in lieu of his present demands, the sum of two millions of crowns by half-yearly instalments of fifty thousands crowns each, and, when that debt should be fully discharged, to pay him moreover an annual pension of one hundred thousand crowns during the term of his natural life: 2. To allow Henry's sister Mary, the queen dowager of France, to enjoy the full profits of her dower for the future, and to discharge the arrears already due to her by half-yearly payments of five thousand crowns: 3. To pay to the cardinal, by regular instalments in the course of seven years and a half, thirty thousand crowns, due on account of his resignation of the bishopric of Tournay, and one hundred thousand more as a reward for his services to the royal family of France: 4. and lastly, to engage that the duke of Albany should never return to Scotland during the minority of the present king. To insure the faithful performance of these articles every possible formality was observed. Louise sanctioned them with her oath; Francis ratified them both during his captivity, and again after his release; and the principal of the French nobility, with the great cities of Toulouse, Lyons, Amiens, Rheims, Paris, Bordeaux, Tours, and Rouen, bound themselves, under the forfeiture of all their property, not only to observe the

July 13.

August 30.

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treaty themselves, but to compel the king himself to observe it by all the means in their power.[1] After this the reader will perhaps learn with surprise, that at the same time the attorney and solicitor general of the parliament of Paris entered on the private register a solemn protest against the whole transaction, that Francis might, whenever he thought proper, found on that protest a refusal to fulfil these engagements.[2]

May 17.

The captive monarch was at first confined in the strong fortress of Pizzighitone; but he longed to see Charles himself, in the hope of acquiring by his address the esteem of the young conqueror; and at his own petition was removed from Italy to Spain, from

June 14.

Pizzighitone to the Alcazar of Madrid.[3] But his expectations were disappointed. The imperial ministers were aware of the disposition of Charles, who seldom refused a favour; they feared that through pity or vanity he might be drawn into imprudent concessions; and, before the arrival of Francis, had removed him to Toledo, that he might preside at an assembly of the Cortes. There he was assailed by the importunities of the nation, importunities probably dictated by himself, to marry, in order to preserve the succession; and in consequence, he instructed his ambassador in London to demand that the lady Mary should be sent to Spain, or that he should be released from his contract to marry her. Henry a second time refused to part with his daughter at that early age; but ac-

July 6.

knowledged that such refusal on his part ought not

[1] Rym. xiv. 37, 45—113, 121—154.
[2] D'Orleans, anno 1525.
[3] A la requeste dudit seigneur Roy tres-chrestien.—Rym. xiv. 308.

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to prevent the emperor from consulting his own interests, and therefore sent full power to the English ambassadors to give him a formal release from his engagement. They, however, received it not before Charles was perfectly acquainted with Henry's defection to the cause of his adversary; still he accepted the release as a boon; because, without the dissolution of his contract with Mary, he could not be validly contracted to any other woman. In a few weeks he married Isabella, infanta of Portugal, who brought with her a marriage portion of nine hundred thousand crowns.[1]

In the meantime negotiations had been opened and interrupted, resumed and adjourned, between the French and imperial ministers. Francis signified his willingness to abandon his right of sovereignty over the country of Flanders, and even to renounce his claim to the duchy of Milan and the kingdom of Naples; but he refused on any consideration to sever the rich province of Burgundy from his crown, and offered in its place a considerable sum of money. Charles indignantly replied, that money was not his

[1] Lequel aima myeulx d'envoyer pouvoir à ses ambassadeurs pour consentir à aultre marriage avec aucunes conditions, que d'envoyer sadite fille par deça.—Memorial of Charles apud Le Grand, iii. 40. When the demand was made, Mary was only in her eleventh year. Hall says, that the junta advised Charles not to wait till she were of age: he then adds; "they also said she was begotten of "his brother's wife."—Hall, 149. On the authority of this passage, several writers have ventured to assert that the validity of Henry's marriage with Catherine was disputed in Spain, and that Charles refused to marry Mary, on the ground that her legitimacy was doubtful. Among these was Burnet in his first volume, p. 276; but having afterwards seen the instructions to the ambassadors at Madrid, he candidly acknowledged that it was a mistake (tom. iii. p. 33). Isabella was espoused to Charles on Nov. 1; and, on account of some objection to the dispensation, again on Jan. 20. The marriage took place at Seville, on March 11.

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object; that he did not mean to sell the liberty of his captive, but to recover what was his own;[1] that it was not fifty years since Burgundy had been unjustly wrested from his family; and that Francis must now restore it, or linger out his days in a prison. It was in vain that the king threatened to commit suicide, that he neglected his health till his life appeared in danger, that he signed an act of abdication in favour of the dauphin. No argument could mollify the emperor, no artifice elude the penetration of his ministers. At length the reluctance of Francis was apparently overcome. He consented to transfer Burgundy to Charles within six weeks after his release; to surrender his two eldest sons as hostages for the performance of that engagement; to renounce his own pretensions to Milan, Naples, and the sovereignty of Flanders, if on the other part the emperor would renounce his to Boulogne, Ponthieu, and several tracks on both banks of the Somme; to marry Eleonora, the sister of Charles; to restore the duke of Bourbon to all his former rights and possessions; to guarantee the emperor against the demands of the king of England for the arrears of his pension, which had been suspended during the war; and, if he found himself unable to fulfil these articles, to place himself again a captive in the hands of his adversary.[2] The honour of Francis has been the theme of many panegyrists; it will be difficult to discover any traces of it in his conduct on this occasion. On the very morning on which he had determined to sign the treaty, he called a few trusty friends around him, read to them

1526. June 14.

[1] Non libertatem regi vendere . . sed quod erat jure suum per mutuum beneficium recipere.—Sepulveda, l. vi. p. 181.

[2] Rym. xiv. 308.

a protest against the validity of the act which he was about to perform, and then, with the resolution to violate his promise, wrote his signature, engaged to fulfil every article on the faith of a king, and confirmed that pledge with the sacred obligation of an oath.

The treaty of Madrid called into action the diplomatic finesse, or rather the low cunning, of the English cabinet. As soon as the particulars were known, Sir Thomas Cheney, and Dr. Taylor, a celebrated jurist, were despatched to France, ostensibly to congratulate the king on his release from captivity, in reality to obtain from him the ratification of the convention already concluded with Henry by his mother, and to urge him to the violation of that which he had himself concluded with the emperor. But they were instructed to proceed with caution and dissimulation to ascertain previously the real dispositions of the French cabinet; to speak as from themselves, and not in the name of their sovereign; to affect ignorance, and request that the treaty of Madrid might be communicated to them; to exclaim against the severity of its conditions, and to express their hope that the nation would rise in a body and prevent the king from fulfilling them. Then Cheney, who knew nothing of law, was to inquire of his colleague, if it were possible that oaths and promises made in such circumstances could be binding; and Taylor, who was already furnished with pretended precedents, and with the opinions of canonists and divines, was in a learned discourse to maintain the negative.[1] When they set out, Francis had already crossed the small river Andaye, the boundary between his dominions

[1] Fiddes, 358—361. Strype, 61—63.

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and those of Spain, on which he had been exchanged for his two eldest sons, the dauphin and the duke of Orleans. The same day he rode to Bayonne, where he signed the bond for the payment of the two millions of crowns, and the yearly pension to Henry, and wrote to him a letter expressive of his gratitude for the interference of the English monarch, and of his resolution to be guided by him in all his transactions with the emperor. At Bordeaux he received the ambassadors, and ratified with his signature the existing engagements between the two crowns.[1] It soon appeared that he required not the invitation of Henry to violate the treaty of Madrid. He refused to surrender Burgundy, on the pretext that it was contrary to his coronation oath, and to the will of the natives; but offered in compensation, what had been before rejected, a sum of money. Charles immediately called on him like a loyal prince to return into captivity; but he laughed at the requisition, and spent the summer in negotiations with Henry. Francis bound himself never to make peace with the emperor till full security were obtained for the liquidation of the debt due to the English king from Charles; and Henry engaged not to accept of such security till the French princes should be freed from captivity for a ransom of one million of crowns. But here the king and his ministers thought it expedient to pause. Francis sought to make Henry a party in the war. But Wolsey, though he deemed it proper to keep alive the hopes of the French monarch, was at the same time too cautious to be drawn into any positive engagement on the part of his sovereign.[2]

March 17.

April 15.

August 8.

[1] Rym. xiv. 129—133, 134—154.

[2] Stat. Pap. i. 170, 7. Rym. 185, 7, 9—192. In one of the

That I might not interrupt the course of political events, I have hitherto abstained from noticing the religious revolution, which had already occurred in Germany; and which gradually new-modelled the clergy, subverted the established creed, and abolished the papal authority in several of the states of Europe. As in a few years it penetrated into this island, and produced the most important innovations in our religious polity, it cannot, though of foreign origin, be deemed foreign to the history of England; nor will the reader be displeased if I have reserved for the conclusion of this chapter a more detailed account of the causes which led to its commencement and accelerated its progress.

It is well known that the primitive church visited with peculiar severity the more flagrant violations of the divine law; and that such punishments were occasionally mitigated by the "indulgence" of the bishops, who, in favour of particular penitents, were accustomed to abridge the austerities enjoined by the canons, or to commute them for works of charity and exercises of piety. When Urban II. in the council of Clermont called upon the Christian nations to emancipate Jerusalem from the yoke of the infidels, he offered to the adventurers a "plenary indulgence;" that is, he enacted that all who, having confessed their sins with

conferences in Spain, the emperor's chancellor, speaking of the violation of the treaty of Madrid, let fall the words "falsehood and "perfidy." Francis complained of them to Henry as an insult to all crowned heads. The king replied that the chancellor was the most infamous of men; and Wolsey, after a long conference with him, advised that Francis should demand personal satisfaction of the emperor, unless he disavowed the language of his minister; and promised that Henry himself would take up the quarrel, if any thing should prevent Francis from meeting his adversary.—Le Grand, iii. 59, 63, 64.

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true repentance of heart, might engage in the expedition, should be exempted, in consequence of the labours and dangers to which they voluntarily exposed themselves, from the canonical penances to which they were otherwise liable.[1] Two centuries later, in the council of Lyons, the same indulgence was extended to those who, unable to join the crusade in person, should by voluntary donations contribute to its success.[2] From that period indulgences began to be multiplied. As often as money was required for any object really or apparently connected with the interests of religion, they were offered to the people; and, as men give with less reluctance, when they are left to their own option, than when they are compelled by force, the expedient generally succeeded. But abuses of two kinds grew out of the practice. 1. The money was frequently diverted from its original destination, and found its way into the private coffers of the pontiff, or into the treasuries of the secular princes.[3] 2. The office of collecting the contributions was committed to inferior agents called questors; whose interest it was, as they received a per-centage on the amount, to exaggerate the advantages of the indulgence, and to impose on the simplicity and credulity of the people. It is indeed true that, to prevent such abuses, severe constitutions had been enacted by several popes;[4] but these laws were either

[1] Conc. Claremont, can. 2. [2] Conc. Lugdun. 1, cap. xvii.

[3] Thus about six years before the rise of Luther, an indulgence had been preached in Saxony, to raise money for the war against the Turks. But the whole sum was divided between the emperor and the elector, who afterwards patronised Luther. As some reparation, he gave two hundred florins to the church of Wittemberg.—Schmidt, l. viii. c. 3.

[4] Certus mihi videbar me habiturum patronum papam . . . qui in suis decretis clarissime damnat quæstorum immodestiam.—Luth. Op. i. Præf.

not enforced, or had fallen into disuse: and those who bewailed the evil, saw little hope of a remedy from pontiffs who seemed to have forgotten their spiritual character, in their ardour to free Italy from the dominion of strangers, and to aggrandize at the same time their respective families.

Among the different projects which occupied the restless mind of Julius II., was that of erecting a temple worthy of the capital of the Christian world, of enormous dimensions and unrivalled magnificence. To raise money for this purpose, he had published an indulgence in Poland and France; which his successor Leo X. had with the same view extended to the northern provinces of Germany.[1] The papal commission was directed to Albert, elector of Mentz, and archbishop of Magdeburg; and that prelate employed as his delegate Tetzel, a Dominican friar, who had already executed the same office under the Teutonic knights. The brethren of Tetzel rapidly spread themselves over Saxony; some, not content with their sermons from the pulpit, offered indulgences in the streets and markets, in taverns and private houses; they even taught, if we may credit the interested declamation of their adversary, that every contributor, if he paid on his own account, infallibly opened to himself the gates of heaven; if on account of the dead, instantly liberated a soul from the prison of purgatory.[2]

[1] Pallavicino, i. 52. That he had assigned, as is often said, a portion of the profits to his sister Maddalena, is shown to be false by Pallavicino, 54. Even Luther says the money was ad fabricam Sancti Petri.—Op. i. 1, 11.

[2] Luther, i. 1, 157.—Erasmus says, de indulgentiis sic loquebantur ut nec idiotæ ferre possent . . . Hæc, opinor, moverunt animum Lutheri, ut primum auderet se quorundam intolerabili impudentiæ opponere.—Ep. ad Alb. Mag. Archiep. p. 422.

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The origin of the revolution which followed may, with probability, be attributed to the counsels of Staupitz, vicar of the friars of St. Augustine. It has been generally supposed that he was actuated by a spirit of opposition to the Dominicans, whether that opposition sprung from any previous rivalry between the two institutes, or from resentment, that the lucrative office of collecting the contributions had been bestowed on Tetzel instead of himself.[1] For his ostensible agent he selected a young friar of his own order, Martin Luther, a man of an ardent mind, of unimpeached morals, and of strong prejudices against the court of Rome. When Frederic, elector of
1508. Saxony, founded the university of Wittemberg, Luther had obtained a professorship at the recommendation of Staupitz, and soon attracted notice by the peculiar boldness of his assertions, and his constant preference of the opinions of Plato to the doctrines of Aristotle. He was now in his thirty-fifth year, vain of his talents for disputation, and fearless of opposition; and eagerly undertook the task assigned to him by the zeal or the envy of his superior.[2] His first essay was the composition of ninety-five short theses on the nature of indulgences and the errors of the questors; which he inclosed in a letter to the archbishop, with a significant

[1] Compare the letter of Luther to Staupitz, with that of Staupitz to Spalatin.—Luth. Oper. i. 64, 323. Pallav. 1, 82. Spondan. ad ann. 1517. That the office was taken from the Augustinians and given to the Dominicans, is not true. It had before been executed by the latter, and the friars minors.—Pallav. 1, 52, 57. But many attributed the controversy to the jealousy between the two orders, as Leo himself (Bandello, par. iii. novel. 25); Valdez (apud Pet. Mart. 380), and Cochlæus (apud Raynald, viii. p. 237).

[2] Luther in his letter to the pope attributed his opposition to zeal, or the warmth of youth; pro zelo Christi sicuti mihi videbar, aut, si ita placet, pro juvenili calore, quo urebar.—Luth. i. 65.

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hint, that unless that prelate interposed to remedy the abuse, some orthodox writer would reluctantly come forward to expose the falsehood of the doctrines publicly taught under the sanction of his authority. But his ardour in the cause did not allow him to wait for an answer. The same day or next morning he affixed his theses to the great door of the church of Wittemberg; then maintained them publicly from the pulpit; and afterwards dispersed them in printed copies through the chief cities of Germany. These celebrated propositions had been selected with much care and ingenuity. Though in most points they receded from the more common opinions, there were few among them which could not claim the patronage of some orthodox writer; and for greater security they were brought forward not as incontestable doctrines, but as mere doubts, which had suggested themselves to the mind of the professor, and which he submitted to discussion for the sole purpose of discovering and establishing the truth. They moreover possessed another recommendation to popularity; they were seasoned with bold and repeated sarcasms against the insatiate rapacity of the court of Rome, and the personal avarice of the collectors.[1]

1517. Oct. 31.

The Dominican friars were alarmed and exasperated at the opposition of Luther. They refuted his theses with warmth, and were answered by him with greater

[1] Amore et studio elucidandæ veritatis hæc subscripta themata disputabuntur Wittembergæ, præsidente R. P. Martino Luthero, Eremitano Augustano artium et S. Theologiæ Magistro, ejusdem ibidem ordinario lectore.—Luth. Op. i. 2. Whoever examines these propositions, or the dispute to which they gave birth, will plainly see that no divines taught, as they are sometimes supposed to have done, that indulgences "were remissions of sin, on payment of a sum "of money, according to a fixed table of rates," much less that they were "remissions of sin not yet committed."

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warmth. The controversy soon attracted public notice throughout Germany and the neighbouring countries. Some hailed the attempt of Luther as the prelude to a reformation of abuses; many began to tremble for the unity of the church; and others amused themselves with observing the arts and the vehemence of the contending parties. In the latter class, if credit be due to the novelist Bandello, we must place Leo himself, who admired the talents of Martin, and is said to have viewed with indifference the rise of the quarrel between him and his opponents.[1]

Luther, however, aware that he had given cause of offence, and apprehensive of the resentment of the pontiff, thought it prudent to address to him a most submissive letter, concluding with these words: "Where-"fore, most holy father, I throw myself prostrate at "your feet with all that I have or am. My life and "death are in your hands. Call or recall me, approve "or condemn me as you please. I shall acknowledge "your voice as the voice of Christ, who presides "and speaks in your person."[2] He may have been sincere in these professions; but they were only the passing effusions of the moment. The new apostle soon reverted to his former course, extending his researches from indulgences to other articles of the established creed, and displaying a marked partiality for such opinions as were most calculated to shock the feelings and confound the notions of men. At Heidel-

[1] Che fra Martino aveva bellissimo ingegno, et che coteste erano invidie fratesche.—Bandello, par. iii. novel. 25.

[2] Quare, beatissime pater, prostratum me pedibus tuæ beatitudinis offero cum omnibus quæ sum et habeo. Vivifica, occide; voca, revoca; approba, reproba, ut placuerit.—Vocem tuam, vocem Christi in te præsidentis et loquentis agnoscam.—Luth. Op. i. 66.

berg he maintained, both in word and writing, that by the fall of Adam man has been deprived of the use of free will; that faith alone is sufficient for salvation; and that the best of our actions are of their own nature grievous offences.[1] The auditor of the papal court, the bishop of Ascoli, had already cited him to appear at Rome within sixty days; but, when he heard of Luther's conduct at Heidelberg, he pronounced him a heretic without waiting for the expiration of that term. Tommaso di Vio, commonly called cardinal Cajetan, the legate in Germany, was ordered at the same time to summon the new preacher before his tribunal, and to absolve him if he showed signs of repentance, but otherwise to keep him in safe custody till instructions should arrive from Rome.[2]

1518. August 7.

August 23.

Luther now began to betray symptoms of terror. He petitioned that his cause might be heard in Germany and not at Rome; he procured a testimonial in favour of his morals and orthodoxy from the university of Wittemberg; and he earnestly solicited the elector to antedate and sign a paper, containing a fictitious refusal of a passport, that the professor might exhibit it as a proof of his willingness to obey the citation, had he not been prohibited by his sovereign.[3] But the sophisms with which he laboured to justify the falsehood did not satisfy the conscience of Frederic, who, at the conclusion of the diet, compelled Luther to proceed to Augsburg. Contrary

Sept. 25.

[1] Luth. Op. i. 24—27.

[2] Luther complains that sentence had been pronounced before the expiration of the sixty days; but he seems to have forgotten that in the meanwhile he had maintained other doctrines at Heidelberg, which had been already declared heretical. To these Leo alludes in his letter.—Ibid. 161.

[3] Luth. Ep. i. 65. Apud Pallav. i. 68.

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to his expectations, he was received with kindness, almost with respect;[1] but all his artifices to inveigle the cardinal into a verbal controversy were useless. Cajetan replied that he had no commission to dispute.

Oct. 8.

Oct. 13. As a friend, he would admonish Luther to retract his errors; as a father, he was ready to receive a repentant son.

Oct. 15. At the close of their third meeting, Cajetan, Staupitz the vicar, Lintz, the confidential friend of Luther, and Urbano, the envoy from Montserrat, spent some hours in private consultation, and at length concluded an arrangement, which it was presumed "would put an end to the scandal, without compro- "mising the honour of the Holy See, or the character "of the professor." But the credulity of the cardinal was deceived by the insincerity of the opposite party. Though Lintz returned to announce that the arrange-

Oct. 17. ment was satisfactory to Luther, though Luther himself wrote a letter expressing his regret for the offence which he had given, promising to remain silent, if his enemies would permit him, and requesting that the points in dispute might be referred to the judgment of the pontiff; yet a contrary resolution was soon after-

Oct. 19. wards taken; Staupitz secretly departed from Augsburg in the evening; and the professor followed the next morning, leaving a second letter for the cardinal,

Oct. 20. in which he refused to make any recantation, but still avowed his readiness to submit to the decision of the Holy See.[2]

[1] Susceptus fui satis clementer, ac prope reverentius.—Luth. Op. i. 164.

[2] We have two accounts of the transactions at Augsburg, one by Luther, who labours to justify himself (Op. i. 164, et seq.), and another by the cardinal in a letter of complaint to the elector. Jactis his fundamentis, cum bene sperarem omnia, mihi, imo sibi, perbelle illuserunt. Fraudulentum Martini et sequacium consilium obstupui.—Ibid. 173.

The partisans of Luther had awaited with anxiety the issue of the meeting; they hailed as a triumph his safe and speedy return to Wittemberg. Cajetan complained in vain of the deception which had been practised upon him, and solicited the elector to send the refractory professor to Rome, or at least to banish him from his territories. Frederic replied, that justice forbade him to punish before conviction, and that his regard for the university would not allow him to deprive Wittemberg of its brightest ornament. It has been thought that the last reason weighed more with the elector than he was willing to admit. That school of learning had been founded by his care and munificence; he had established the laws by which it was governed; the professors were of his own choice; and by the union of polite literature with the study of law, philosophy, and theology, it had already acquired a superiority over the more ancient universities. The novelties of Luther, instead of repelling, attracted students; and Frederic was proud of the man whose reputation added to the prosperity of his favourite establishment. In this disposition of mind he was easily led to believe, that the opposition to the professor sprung not from any zeal for truth, but from resentment for the loss of those gains which had formerly enriched his adversaries.[1]

Oct. 25.

Dec. 8.

[1] Pelleretur enim incommodo nostræ universitatis . . . Exceptis nonnullis, quorum rei privatæ et utilitati pecuniariæ eruditio ejus non proficit, qui, ut propriæ commoditati consulerent, Martino sese adversarios opposuerunt, suo tamen proposito contra Martinum nondum probato.—Op. i. 169. It is also observed by Valdez (Pet. Mart. Ep. p. 381), that Frederic was the personal enemy of the archbishop, and therefore had forbidden the produce of the indulgences to be forwarded to him. Hence it was suspected by many, and asserted by the duke of Brunswick, that Luther had been originally selected to oppose the indulgences by the ministers of Frederic. The asser-

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By this time Leo had published a bull declaratory of the doctrine of the Roman church respecting indulgences, the original subject of the controversy. Though it does not mention Luther by name, it is evidently pointed against his assertions. It teaches that the pope, as successor of St. Peter, and the vicar of Christ upon earth, possesses the power of granting for reasonable causes certain indulgences in favour of such of the faithful as are in a state of grace, whether they be alive or dead, for the remission of the temporal punishment due on account of actual sin. This bull, which probably was issued in consequence of the arrangement concluded at Augsburg, probed the sincerity of Luther to the quick. He had promised to accept the decision of the pontiff, whether it approved or condemned his doctrine. That prelate had now spoken, and the decision was unfavourable; but the professor, forgetful of his former protestations, instead of submitting, appealed by a formal instrument, from the pope ill-informed, to a general council.[1]

Nov. 9.

Nov. 28.

He had hitherto been checked in his career by his apprehensions of the emperor Maximilian; the timely but unexpected death of that prince added to his security, and encouraged his confidence. During the

tion is denied by Melancthon in the preface to Luther's works, tom. ii. p. 6.

[1] Expectans, accepturusque quidquid sive damnanti sive approbanti visum fuerit.—Oct. 18. Oper. i. 170. Yet it is plain that his many and strong asseverations of respect and obedience were feigned to serve his present purpose. For at the same time he wrote from Augsburg to Melancthon: Italia est in Egypti tenebras palpabiles projecta; adeo ignorant omnes Christum et ea quæ Christi sunt. Hos tamen dominos et magistros habemus fidei et morum! Sic impletur ira Dei super nos.—Oct. 11, p. 163. He afterwards apologized to his disciples for having used such respectful expressions, attributing them partly to civility, and partly to his false persuasion of the papal supremacy.

vacancy, his patron, the elector, exercised, as hereditary vicar, the imperial authority. Under his protection the Wittemberg professor continued to make discoveries; he plunged fearlessly into the fathomless abyss of grace, free-will, and predestination; as if he sought to perpetuate division, he invented new terms for his doctrines, in opposition to those which had been consecrated by the use of ages; and he evidently laboured to subvert the foundations of the existing church, that he might raise another on its ruins. Nor will the project appear extravagant, if we consider the causes which concurred to give encouragement to his views, and to swell the number of his well-wishers.

1. There existed in Germany a very prevalent feeling of disaffection to the see of Rome. The violent contests between the popes and the emperors in former times had left a germ of discontent, which required but little aid to shoot into open hostility; and the minds of men had of late years been embittered by frequent but useless complaints of the expedients devised by the papal court to fill its treasury at the expense of the natives.

2. The chief of the German prelates were at the same time secular princes; and, as they had been promoted more on account of their birth than of their merit, they frequently seemed to merge their spiritual in their temporal character. Hence they neglected the episcopal functions; the clergy, almost free from restraint, became illiterate and immoral; and the people, ceasing to respect those whom they could not esteem, inveighed against the riches of the church, complained of the severity with which the clerical dues were exacted in the spiritual courts, and loudly

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called for the removal of many real or imaginary grievances, which arose from the demands of the popes and the exercise of the episcopal jurisdiction, and which for years had been the subject of consultations, of remonstrances, and even of menaces. These attempts had indeed failed; but the success of Luther revived the hopes of the discontented; and thousands ranged themselves under the banner of the innovator, without any idea of trenching on the ancient faith, and led solely by the hope of reforming abuses.[1]

3. The recent invention of printing, by multiplying the copies of books and the number of readers, had given a new and extraordinary impulse to the powers and passions of men, who began to conceive that their ancestors had been kept not only in intellectual but also in civil thraldom. Works, descriptive of their rights, were circulated and read with avidity; the oppression exercised by their rulers, and the redress of their grievances, became the ordinary topics of conversation; and the inferior nobles in each state laboured to emancipate themselves from the control of their princes, and to establish their dependence on the empire alone. All Germany was in a ferment; and Luther converted the general feeling to his own purpose with admirable address. *They* contended for civil, *he* for religious liberty. Both had a similar object in view; both ought to support each other. The titles which he gave to his works aided his purpose.

1520. April 6. Nov. 17

He wrote of "Christian Freedom," and against the "Bondage of Babylon;" liberty was constantly in his mouth and in his writings; and he solemnly protested,

[1] Visus est Lutherus etiam plerisque viris gravibus et eruditis non pessimo zelo moveri; planeque nihil spectare aliud quam ecclesiæ reformationem.—Sur. Comment. ad ann. 1517.

that his only object was to free mankind from the intolerable despotism of the church of Rome.[1] These arts wrought the desired effect; and, though at first few of the princes became proselytes, the great body of the German nobles applauded and seconded his attempts.

4. Since the revival of letters, there had risen in Germany a numerous body of scholars called Humanists, who devoted themselves to the study of the classics, and exercised an extensive sway over the public mind. The bitterest enmity had for some years existed between them and the theologians; and the opprobrious terms of "barbarian and infidel" were the appellations by which the combatants usually distinguished each other. But of all the theologians, the Dominican friars were peculiar objects of hatred and ridicule to the Humanists, because the former, as censors of books, frequently suppressed or corrected the works of the latter. Hence these, almost without exception, professed themselves the admirers of Luther, and enjoyed the distress to which the new preacher often reduced his antagonists. As the Humanists alone possessed the charms of style, their works in his favour were generally read; while the writings of the theologians, composed in the uninviting language of the schools, were seldom perused, and still more rarely understood. Moreover, the press was entirely at their command; and we are assured that it was with difficulty the opponents of Luther could find a printer to publish their works.[2] Even the great scholars, who were cherished by the patronage of Leo, remained for years indifferent

[1] Luth. Op. i. 387; ii. 259.

[2] Erasmi, Ep. p. 128, 334, 350, 642, 774. Cochlæus, de Act. et Scrip. Lutheri, c. iii. Pallav. i. 130, 131.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1520.

spectators of the dispute; nor was it till experience convinced them of their own imprudence, that they condescended to engage in the contest, when it was too late to arrest the progress of their adversary.

Lastly, the politicians at Rome accused the tardiness and irresolution of Leo himself, who for two years had suffered the innovator to brave the papal authority, without taking any decisive step to punish his presumption. Even after the departure of Cajetan, when all hopes of an accommodation had vanished, the pope, whether he listened to the timidity of his temper, or thought that the storm might be allayed by gentleness, commissioned Miltitz, a Saxon nobleman, to bring Luther back to his duty by persuasion and promises. Miltitz exhorted and advised; but his arguments seemed to confirm the obstinacy of the friar; and the frequency of their convivial meetings provoked a suspicion that the envoy betrayed the trust which had been reposed in him by the pontiff. At length, by orders from Rome, he summoned the superiors of the Augustinian friars to reclaim or coerce their disobedient brother; and Luther, pretending to yield to their remonstrances, wrote a long letter to the pontiff. Never perhaps was there a more sarcastic or more insulting composition. Affecting to commiserate the condition of Leo, whom he describes as seated in the midst of the abominations of Babylon, he takes occasion to hurl in his face every irritating charge, whether founded or unfounded, that had ever been invented by the enemies of the Holy See.[1] After this defiance, to temporize had been to confess weakness; and Leo published a bull in which he stigmatized forty-one propositions as false, scandalous, or heretical;

April 6.

[1] Luth. Op. i. 385.

asserted that these propositions were contained in the works lately written by Luther; allowed him sixty days to retract his errors; and pronounced him excommunicate, if he continued obstinate after the expiration of that term. But success and impunity had taught the reformer to deride the authority before which he had formerly trembled. He appealed from "the impious judge, the apostate, the antichrist, the "blasphemer of the divine word," to the more equitable decision of a general council; and having called an assembly of the inhabitants of Wittemberg, led them to a funeral pile, erected without the walls, and with much solemnity cast into the flames the books of the canon law, the works of Eccius and Emser, his chief antagonists, and the bull of Pope Leo against himself, exclaiming in a tone of fanaticism, "Because "ye have troubled the holy of the Lord, ye shall be "burnt with everlasting fire."[1]

Nov. 17.

Dec. 10.

War was now openly declared; and each party laboured to secure the friendship of the new emperor. The elector Frederic, to whom that prince lay under the greatest obligations, exerted all his influence in favour of his friend; and Luther himself, to alienate the inexperienced mind of Charles from the see of Rome, addressed to him an historical treatise, in which he artfully exaggerated the many injuries which the different pontiffs had inflicted on the empire, and exhorted him to vindicate the honour of the imperial crown from the usurpations of a foreign priest. Erasmus, the leader of the Humanists, was employed to sound and prepare the emperor's advisers; and Hutten by successive satires and caricatures was careful to entertain

[1] Luth. Op. i. 316, 320, 423. Sleidan, 15, 22, . Argentor, 1556.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1521.

and quicken the ferment in the public mind. On the other side, Leo sent to the court, as nuncio for religious matters, Girolamo Aleandri, prefect of the Vatican library, a minister of eminent talents and indefatigable industry. Threats, and insults, and violence were employed in vain to deter him from the performance of his duty. He followed Charles to the diet at Worms, remarked in his speech to the princes that they were deceived, if they thought the present a mere contest for jurisdiction and privileges; read from the works of Luther the most objectionable passages, and showed that they were contrary to the decisions of the council of Constance, a council held in the highest veneration by the national partiality of the Germans.[1] This speech made a deep and powerful impression; but the reformer was preserved from immediate condemnation by the address of his patron the elector, who moved that he might be examined in person, not as to the truth or falsehood of his doctrine, but as to the fact of his being the real author of the works published under his name. At his first appearance he acknowledged the passages objected to him, but was not prepared to say whether he still maintained the same doctrines. At his second, he first employed evasions, then burst into intemperate sallies against his polemical adversaries and the court of Rome, and at last took refuge within his favourite asylum, the assertion that conscience forbade him to retract, till he were convinced that his opinion was contrary to the word of God. Charles eyed him with eagerness during the conference; there was something in the cast of his features, and the vehemence of his manner, which created a strong prejudice against him;

April 16.

[1] Pallav. i. 124—157.

and the young emperor, turning to his confidants, whispered, "that such a man would never seduce *him* "from the faith of his fathers." CHAP. VII, A.D. 1521.

During some days attempts were made to mollify the obstinacy of Luther; at length he was ordered to quit the city under a safe-conduct for the space of three weeks; and after some delay a decree was published against him, ordering the seizure of his person, forbidding any prince to harbour or protect him, and prohibiting the publication of writings on doctrinal matters without the previous approbation of the ordinary. But the reformer had already provided for his own security. On the third day after his departure from Worms he returned the safe-conduct to the imperial messenger at Friedberg, and proceeded to Eisenach under the protection of a party of his own friends on horseback. There he dismissed the greater number, and at the entrance of the Thuringian forest near Altenstein ordered the remainder to go before, and prepare lodgings. In a few minutes two noblemen, in the confidence of the elector, rode up to the carriage in masks, took him out, as it were by force, disguised him as a soldier, and led him on horseback to Wartburg, a solitary castle situate at a distance in the mountains. The place of his concealment was kept a profound secret both from his friends and his enemies; but he continued to animate the former by his writings; while the latter found themselves repeatedly assailed by their indefatigable but invisible adversary.[1] April 26. May 26.

Detailed accounts of all these transactions had been carefully transmitted to England by the royal agents.

[1] Luth. Op. ii. 411—416. Sleid. 27—29, 31. Pallav. i. 152—171. Raynald, viii. 321.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1521.

Wolsey, by his office of legate, was bound to oppose the new doctrines; and Henry, who had applied to the school divinity, attributed their diffusion in Germany to the supine ignorance of the native princes. By a letter to Charles he had already evinced his hostility to doctrinal innovation; but it was deemed prudent to abstain from any public declaration till the future decision of the diet could be conjectured with some degree of certainty. Then the legate, attended by the other prelates, and the papal and imperial ambassadors, proceeded to St. Paul's; the bishop of Rochester preached from the cross; and the works of Luther, condemned by the pontiff, were burnt in the presence of the multitude.[1] Ever since the middle of the last reign classical learning had become the favourite pursuit of the English scholars, who naturally leagued with their brother Humanists on the continent, and read with eagerness the writings, if they did not adopt the opinions, of the reformer and his disciples. But the cardinal now ordered every obnoxious publication to be delivered up within a fortnight, and commissioned the bishops to punish the refractory with the sentence of excommunication.[2] Henry himself was anxious to enter the lists against the German; nor did Wolsey discourage the attempt, under the idea that pride no less than conviction would afterwards bind the royal polemic to the support of the ancient creed. That the treatise in defence of the seven sacraments, which the king published, was his own composition, is forcibly asserted by himself; that it was planned, revised, and improved by the superior judgment of the cardinal and the bishop of Rochester,

May 12.

May 14.

[1] Vitell. B. 4, p. 9.

[2] Wilk. Con. iii. 690.

was the opinion of the public.[1] Clarke, dean of Windsor, carried the royal production to Rome, and in a full consistory submitted it to the inspection and approbation of the pontiff, with an assurance, that as his master had refuted the errors of Luther with his pen, so was he ready to oppose the disciples of the heresiarch with his sword, and to array against them the whole strength of his kingdom. Clement accepted the present with many expressions of admiration and gratitude; but Henry looked for something more pleasing to his vanity than mere acknowledgments. The kings of France had long been distinguished by the appellation of "most Christian," those of Spain by that of "Catholic." When Louis XII. set up the schismatical synod of Pisa, it was contended that he had forfeited his right to the former of these titles; and Julius II. transferred it to Henry, but with the understanding that the transfer should be kept secret till the services of the king might justify in the eyes of men the partiality of the pontiff. After the victory at Guinegate, Henry demanded the publication of the grant; but Julius was dead; Leo declared himself ignorant of the transaction; and means were found to pacify the king with the promise of some other, but equivalent, distinction. Wolsey had lately recalled the subject to the attention of the papal court; and Clarke, when he presented the king's work, demanded for him the title of "defender of the faith." This new denomination experienced some opposition; but it could not be refused with

Oct. 2.

June 10.

[1] Sir Thomas More confirms this opinion by saying, that "by his "grace's appointment, and consent of the makers of the same, *he* "was only a sorter out and placer of the principal matters therein "contained."—See a note on this subject by Mr. Bruce, Arch. xxiv. 67.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1521. — Oct. 11. 1522. July 15.

decency; and Leo conferred it by a formal bull on Henry, who procured a confirmation of the grant from the successor of Leo, Clement VII.[1]

Whatever knowledge the German reformer might possess of the doctrines, his writings displayed little of the mild spirit of the gospel. In his answer to the king of England, the intemperance of his declamation scandalized his friends, while it gave joy to his enemies. To the king he allotted no other praise than that of writing in elegant language; in all other respects he was a fool and an ass, a blasphemer and a liar.[2] Henry complained to Luther's patron the elector; the German princes considered the work as an insult to crowned heads; and at the earnest entreaty of Christian, king of Denmark, Luther condescended to write an apology. In it he supposes that the "Defence of "the Seven Sacraments" had been falsely attributed

[1] See Assertio septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum, edita ab invictissimo Angliæ et Franciæ rege, et domino Hiberniæ, Henrico ejus nominis octavo. It was published in London, 1521; Antwerp, 1522; and Rome, 1543. And for the king's title, Pallavicino, 177, and Rymer, xiii. 756; xiv. 13. It should be observed, that in neither of the bulls is there any grant of inheritance. The title belonged to the king personally, not to his successors. Tibi perpetuum et proprium.—Ibid. But Henry retained it after his separation from the communion of Rome, and in 1543 it was annexed to the crown by act of parliament, 35 Hen. VIII. 3. Thus it became hereditable by his successors; and I observe that it was retained even by Philip and Mary, though the statute itself had been repealed.

[2] Luth. Op. ii. 517—534. Melancthon was ashamed of the violence of Luther's writings. Quem quidem virum ego meliorem esse judico, quam qualis videtur facienti de eo judicium ex illis violentis scriptionibus ipsius.—Ep. ad Camer. p. 90. Sir Thomas More wrote an answer to Luther, under the fictitious name of William Ross. Eruditissimi viri Gulielmi Rossei opus elegans, doctum, festivum, &c. In it he endeavours to equal the abuse of the reformer; while Fisher, bishop of Rochester, in a more argumentative style, undertook the defence of the king in his work, entitled Defensio Assertionum regis Angliæ de fide Catholica adversus Lutheri Captivitatem Babylonicam.

to Henry; offers to acknowledge his error, and to publish a book in the king's praise; paints in seductive colours the purity and holiness of his own doctrine; and takes occasion to inveigh against the tyranny of the popes, and against that bane of England, the cardinal of York.[1] Such an apology was not likely to appease the mind of Henry, who was proud of his work and attached to his minister; and the assertion that the king began to favour the new gospel, provoked him to publish a severe but dignified answer. In it he openly avows himself to be the author of the tract printed with his name, and expresses his esteem for Wolsey, whom he always loved, but whom he shall now love much more, since he has been honoured with the abuse of one who never spared exalted worth either in the living or the dead. He then argues that, if the tree may be known by its fruits, the pride and passion, the lust and debauchery of the new apostle, prove that he had received no commission from God; and concludes with maintaining that the favourite doctrines of his antagonist, respecting the sufficiency of faith and non-existence of free will, were subversive of all morality, and repugnant to the first principles of religion.[2] The publication of this letter rekindled the anger, and exasperated the venom of the reformer. He announced his regret that he had descended to the meanness of making an apology; and condemned his own folly in supposing "that virtue could exist in a

[1] It is printed at the end of the Paris edition of the king's work, 1562, p. 102. Luther terms the cardinal illud monstrum et publicum odium Dei et hominum, pestis illa regni tui.—Op. ii. 517—534.

[2] Op. ii. 104—130. The invective against Luther's union with Catherine Boren, a nun, is written with an elegance and eloquence far beyond the powers of Henry (p. 110). I know not who was the real author.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1525.

"court, or that Christ might be found in a place where "Satan reigned." But thenceforth let his enemies tremble. He would no more attempt to allure them by mildness, but would apply the merited lash to their backs.[1]

The edict of Worms had become a dead letter at the expiration of a few months; and Luther, returning to Wittemberg, had published his German translation of the Scriptures. It was preposterous to imagine that from the perusal of the sacred volumes the common people could be enabled to decide those questions which divided the most learned; but the present flattered their pride; they felt their obligations to the man who had rendered them the judges of their own belief; and when they did not understand his arguments, were still convinced by the attraction of novelty, the promise of freedom, and the hope of sharing in the spoils of the church.[2] The increase of new teachers kept equal pace with the increase of new religionists. The country curate, who was unknown beyond the

[1] Sleidan, 42, 67, 68. Raynald, viii. 486. Collier, ii. Records, p. 3.

[2] Germany at this period abounded with military adventurers. As the institution of standing armies was yet in its infancy, when any prince began a war, he sent to hire soldiers in Germany or Switzerland, and these at the end of their engagement, which seldom lasted more than six months, returned home to live on the plunder which they had made, till they should receive another offer of service. It was observed that most of these, both officers and men, attached themselves to Luther. But the most celebrated was Sickingen, of an ancient family situated near the Rhine. He not only invited the reformer to live with him, but promised to protect him against the whole world. Under pretext of a commission from Charles, he levied 10,000 foot and 2,000 horse, overran the electorate of Treves and laid siege to the city. His object was to employ the religious feelings of his troops in forming a principality for himself out of the ecclesiastical electorates. But the German princes, aware of his ambition, combined against him, and made him prisoner.—Sleid. 36. Schmidt, l. viii. c. 7.

precincts of his village, the friar, who had hitherto vegetated in the obscurity of his convent, saw the way to riches and celebrity suddenly opened before them. They had only to ascend their pulpits, to display the new light, which had lately burst upon them, to declaim against the wealth of the clergy and the tyranny of the popes, and they were immediately followed by crowds of disciples, whose gratitude supplied their wants, and whose approbation secured to them importance in the new church. But these teachers soon discovered that they had as good a claim to infallibility as Luther; they began to dispute many of his doctrines, and to reform the reformer himself. Zwinglius declared against him in Switzerland, and severed from his empire the four cities of Strasburg, Lindau, Constance, and Memmingen. Muncer, driven from Saxony, erected his hostile standard at Mulhausen in Thuringia. He taught the natural equality of men, the right of each to his share in the common property of all, the abolition of every authority not founded on the gospel, and the formation of a new kingdom upon earth, to consist entirely of the saints. The peasants, allured by his doctrines, were soon in arms, and the princes of the empire began to tremble for their political existence. Luther was overwhelmed with reproaches; the evil, it was said, had sprung from the tendency of his doctrines; and, to justify himself, he declared that Muncer was inspired and aided by the devil, and that the only remedy was to extirpate with fire and sword both the teacher and his disciples. After many a bloody field in different parts of the empire, the Catholics and Lutherans by their united efforts suppressed the insurrection.[1] But the moment

[1] Sleid. 34.

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the common enemy was removed, their mutual diffidence revived; and the Catholic princes requested the presence of the emperor to protect them from the machinations of their enemies; and the Protestant princes concluded at Torgau a league for their common defence. It was afterwards strengthened by the accession of new members; and in the course of a few pages we shall see this confederacy, avowedly formed to support and propagate the new doctrines, in active correspondence with the king of England, the enemy of religious innovation, and the defender of the orthodox faith.

CHAPTER VIII.

ANNE BOLEYN—ORIGIN OF THE DIVORCE—NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PONTIFF—SWEATING SICKNESS—ARRIVAL OF CARDINAL CAMPEGGIO—DELAYS AND EXPEDIENTS—LEGATINE COURT—DEPARTURE OF CAMPEGGIO—DISGRACE AND DEATH OF WOLSEY—POWER OF ANNE BOLEYN—THE NEW MINISTRY—RISE OF CROMWELL—CONCESSIONS EXTORTED FROM THE CLERGY.

When Henry married the princess Catherine she was in her twenty-sixth year. The graces of her person derived additional lustre from the amiable qualities of her heart; and the propriety of her conduct, during a long period of trial and suspense, had deserved and obtained the applause of the whole court. She bore him three sons and two daughters, all of whom died in their infancy, except the princess Mary, who survived both her parents, and afterwards ascended the throne.[1] For several years the king boasted of his happiness in possessing so accomplished and virtuous a consort;[2] but Catherine was older

[1] Notwithstanding the prohibition of Burnet, I believe that Catherine had five children, on the authority of Sanders (p. 5. Col. Agrip. 1610), confirmed by the testimony of Mason (De Minist. Ang. p. 147), and of Cardinal Pole: Liberos plures ex ea suscepit. Si vero reliqui decesserint, at unam reliquit.—Poli Apol. ad Car. V. Cæs. p. 162. See note (E) at the end of the volume.

[2] Quam sic initio regni amavit, ut nemo vir ergà carissimam conjugem majorem ostenderit amorem.—Ibid. See also chap. i. note 2.

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than her husband, and subject to frequent infirmities; the ardour of his attachment gradually evaporated; and at last his inconstancy or superstition attributed to the curse of Heaven the death of her children and her subsequent miscarriages. Yet even while she suffered from his bad usage, he was compelled to admire the meekness with which she bore her afflictions, and the constancy with which she maintained her rights. The queen had lost his heart; she never forfeited his esteem.

As long as he was attached to Catherine, he was careful to confine his passions within the bounds of public decency; and, though he might indulge in occasional amours, he refrained from open and scandalous excesses. The first of the royal mistresses, whose name has been preserved in history, was Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Blount, and relict of Sir Gilbert Tailbois. By her he had a son, named

1519. in baptism Henry Fitzroy, whom he successively raised to the titles and offices of earl of Nottingham, duke of Richmond, admiral of England, warden of the Scottish marches, and lieutenant of Ireland. His excessive partiality to the boy provoked a suspicion that he intended to name him his successor, to the prejudice of his legitimate daughter; but, to the grief and disappointment of the father, the young Fitzroy

1536. July 24. died in London, before he had completed his eighteenth year.[1]

To Elizabeth Tailbois succeeded in the king's affections Mary Boleyn, whose father, Sir Thomas

[1] Sandford, 496. Giovanni Joacchino, whom the king had introduced to the young Fitzroy, says of him, April 11, 1530, E belissimo e costumatissimo et anche literato figliolo.—Apud Le Grand, iii. 416.

Boleyn, was sprung from a lord mayor of London, and whose mother, Elizabeth, was daughter of Thomas duke of Norfolk. She retained for some time her empire over the fickle heart of her lover;[1] but Henry at length treated her as he had treated so many others;[2] and his desertion of Mary furnished, at a subsequent period, a useful lesson to her younger sister, the gay and accomplished Anne Boleyn.

It is unfortunate that we cannot ascertain the exact year in which that lady was born. The earliest year assigned is 1500, the latest 1507. Neither of these dates rests on satisfactory authority. The first appears to accord better with the earlier circumstances of her life, the other plainly makes her much too young.[3] The reader is aware that she was one of the

[1] The reluctance of Burnet to acknowledge Mary as one of the king's mistresses must yield to the repeated assertions of Pole, in his private letter to Henry, written in 1535. Didicerat (Anne Boleyn), opinor, si nulla alia ex re, vel sororis suæ exemplo, quam cito te concubinarum tuarum satietas caperet.—Soror ejus est, quam tu violasti primum, et diu postea concubinæ loco apud te habuisti.—Ab eodem pontifice magna vi contendebas, ut tibi liceret ducere sororem ejus, quæ concubina tua fuisset.—Pol. f. lxxvi. lxxvii.

[2] There is, however, reason to believe that he provided a husband for Mary Boleyn. At her marriage with William Carey, of the privy chamber, the king honoured the ceremony with his presence, and made his offering at the altar.—"Item for the king's offring opon "Saturday (31st January, 1520-21) at the marriage of M. Care and "Mare Bullayn, vi. s. viii. d." See extract from the Household Book in Sir Frederic Madden's privy purse expenses of Queen Mary, App. p. 282. The date is of importance.

[3] Camden, in a marginal note, says, "nata anno MDVII." —Hearne's edition, p. 2. The printed Sanders says that she was born in 1500.—De Schis. p. 18. We possess an autograph letter written by her, while she was pursuing her studies at Hever, a castle belonging to her father. The letter is in many parts illegible and unintelligible enough. See it in Ellis, ii. Ser. vol. 11, p. 10, with an imaginary translation. It shows, however, that Sir Thomas had written to his daughter a letter of reproof, and had told her that he should take her with him to court, where he should introduce her to the queen, who would talk with her; and that he required an answer

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 1525.

few English ladies selected by Louis XII. as attendants on his wife Queen Mary, who, soon after the death of her royal husband, returned to England. Anne, however, remained in France. She may perhaps at first have visited a friend or relative of her father at Brie; but all that we know with certainty is, that she was soon admitted into the household of Claude, queen of Francis I. In the service of that virtuous princess she continued almost seven years; and, though reports unfavourable to her moral character, during the latter period of her residence in the French court, may be found in foreign writers, they appear undeserving of credit, and were probably suggested by her subsequent unhappy fate.[1] In 1522 she

composed by herself without the aid of her governess or her masters. She answers at full length and in very incorrect language. As there is not in the letter any allusion to her future advancement at court, we cannot suppose it to have been written before 1513, when, if the latest date of her birth be correct, she could be only six years old. But the letter itself manifestly proves that the writer must have been a girl of ten or twelve at the least, and must therefore have been born near the beginning of the century.——The ridiculous statement in Sanders, that Anne was the daughter of Henry by Lady Boleyn, if it stood in need of refutation, is abundantly disproved, as Quirini has observed (Poli Ep. tom. i. p. 137), by the silence of Pole, who would certainly have mentioned it, if it had been known in his time.

[1] I am acquainted with only one passage corroborative of these reports, and claiming original authority, a glowing description of Anne Boleyn as the life and ornament of the French court, said to have been extracted from the memoirs of the viscount Chateaubriant, a contemporary in the court of Francis I. (Queens of England, 2nd edit. iv. p. 168). The fact however is, that this extract is not taken from memoirs written by a contemporary of Anne, but by a contemporary of our own, by the bibliophile Jacob, who in 1837 amused himself with composing certain parts of a novel, to be called the Mémoires of Madame de Chateaubriant (Françoise de Faix), Mistress of Francis I.

There can be no doubt that in this extract the accomplished historian of England's Queens was misled by error of some foreign correspondent. It was, however, necessary to mention the mistake

was recalled to England by Henry VIII.,[1] who had it in contemplation to put an end to the controversy between Sir Thomas Boleyn and Sir Piers Butler for the succession to the lands and honours of Thomas Butler, late earl of Carrick and Ormond, in Ireland, and Lord Rochford in England, by giving Anne Boleyn in marriage to the son of Sir Piers.[2] With this view, she returned to England in 1522, and was soon admitted into the household of Queen Catherine, in a situation similar to that which she before held in the service of Queen Claude. Her French education gave her the superiority over her companions; she played, and danced, and sung with more grace than any other lady at court; and the gaiety of her conversation, with the buoyancy of her disposition, attracted a crowd of admirers.

It happened that, when the cardinal was closeted with the king, the gentlemen of his suite, to pass their time, would repair to the apartment occupied by the queen's maids. There Anne first saw the lord Percy, son to the earl of Northumberland; a

here, otherwise this imaginary description might, hereafter, on the authority of Miss Strickland's name, have been received as a real and authentic document.

[1] Though Spelman (p. 2) makes her remain in the family of the duchess of Alençon, who quitted France in September, 1525, and was married to the nominal king of Navarre in 1527, it is plain that he cannot be correct. Lord Herbert assures us (and appeals for the assertion to "our records"), that she returned to England in 1522, "at the time when our students at Paris were remanded" (p. 46 and 122); and Fiddes informs us, that Francis complained at the time to the English ambassador, that "the English scholars and the "daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn should return home" (p. 268).

[2] This suggestion came from Lord Surrey (St. Pap. ii. 57); and Wolsey was ordered by the king to bring about the marriage (ibid. i. 91). Now Mary Boleyn had been already married nine months; so that the daughter in question could only be Anne Boleyn. Wolsey undertook the negotiation in November, 1521, and the order for Anne's return reached Paris in the beginning of the next year.

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warm attachment grew up between them, and they began seriously to think of a clandestine marriage. But their secret was revealed to Henry, and Wolsey received orders to separate the lovers. Anne was sent back to her parents, and Percy was compelled to marry Mary Talbot, daughter to the earl of Shrewsbury.[1] After a short delay, the young Boleyn was recalled to court, where she gradually resumed her former ascendancy, and consoled herself by a new conquest for her late disappointment. The projected union between her and the son of Sir Piers Butler now appeared more distant than ever; Henry himself on several occasions treated her with marked attention; once he made to her the present of a valuable set of jewels;[2] and it was probably to gratify her, that he

June 18 created her father Viscount Rochford, and appointed

[1] The present, however, was not the first time that this marriage had been in contemplation. From papers in possession of Lord Shrewsbury, it appears that, as early as in the year 1519, the parents of the parties, in apprehension of opposition from some higher quarter, had agreed to make a pilgrimage at the same time to a shrine at Doncaster, that they might have the opportunity of meeting, and arranging the particulars. So fixed was Northumberland on the marriage, that, though he had been urged to send Lord Percy to court, he declared that he would keep him at home, till he should "be better learned, and well acquainted with his wife." However, superior authority prevailed, and the marriage was then prevented. It is probable that the great opponent then was the most urgent for its accomplishment now. I know not the day on which it took place, but I possess the copy of a letter from the earl of Surrey to Lord Darcy, "scribbled the 12th day of September," in the year 1523, in which Lord Surrey, having stated that he forwarded to him a letter from the cardinal, adds, "the mariage of my lorde Percy shal be wt "my lorde steward's doghter, wherof I am right glade, and so I am "sure ye be. Now the cheff baron is with my lorde of Northum-"berland to conclude the mariage." We may therefore safely infer that it took place about the end of 1523 or the beginning of 1524; another proof that the historians who placed the return of Anne in the year 1527 are in error.

[2] Cavendish (in Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography), 363—369. Heylin's Reformation, 259, 260.

him treasurer of the royal household.[1] Anne could not be blind to the impression which her charms had made on the amorous monarch; but, when he ventured to hint to her his real object, she indignantly replied, that she could not be his wife, and would not be his mistress.[2]

This answer, instead of checking, served only to irritate the passion of the king, who for more than a twelvemonth persisted in urging his suit with protestations of the most ardent attachment. But Anne had derived wisdom from the fate of her sister Mary. She artfully kept her lover in suspense; but tempered her resistance with so many blandishments, that his hopes, though repeatedly disappointed, were never totally extinguished.[3] Henry was aware that some

[1] On the fall of Wolsey, when Anne reigned without control, in 1529, her father was created earl of Ormond in Ireland, and of Wiltshire in England. His competitor, Sir Piers Butler, who claimed as heir general to the last earl, was created earl of Ossory, and, having surrendered all his lands to the king, received them back by a grant from the crown.

[2] Concubina enim tua fieri pudica mulier nolebat, uxor volebat.—Pol. ibid. Illa cujus amore rex deperibat, pertinacissime negabat sui corporis potestatem, nisi matrimonio conjunctam, se illi unquam facturam.—Pol. ad regem Scotiæ, p. 176. There is in the Sloane MS. 2495 a pretended copy of the very words in which she answered the king.

[3] Misere ardebas, homo hoc ætatis et isto rerum usu, puellæ amore —Illa sororem vincere contendebat in te amatore retinendo.—Pol. f. lxxvi. In one of his epistles to Anne, he states that, though it was more than a year since he had been wounded by Cupid's dart, he was still uncertain whether he had failed, or had obtained a place in her heart. Ayant este plus q'ung anné attaynte du dart d'amours, non estant assuré de faliere, ou trouver place en votre ceur et affection.—Hearne's Avesbury, p. 350. The date of this letter is not given; but it must have preceded the letter No. 16, which from internal evidence was written in Dec. 1527, or Jan. 1528. Whence it follows that the king's passion for Anne must have begun at the latest in the summer of 1526, probably much earlier; at all events before the time assigned to the origin of his scruples respecting his marriage with Catherine.

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objections had been formerly raised to his marriage with Catherine; but the question had been set at rest by the unanimous decision of his council; and seventeen years had elapsed without a suspicion of the unlawfulness of their union. Now, however, his increasing passion for the daughter of Lady Boleyn induced him to reconsider the subject; and in the company of his confidants he affected to fear that he was living in a state of incest with the relict of his brother.[1] Whether the idea of a divorce arose spontaneously in his mind, or was suggested by the officiousness of others, may be uncertain;[2] but the royal

[1] Satanæ cœpit auscultare ejus concupiscentiam stimulanti, ut illam amaret, quæ sui corporis potestatem facturam pernegabat, nisi remota illa, &c. Ab hoc igitur initio, &c.—Poli Apol. ad Cæs. 115, 116. Efflictim deperiit. Quum vero pudicitiam expugnare non potuisset, in uxorem spe prolis masculæ ambivit.—Camb. 3.

[2] The first suggestion of the divorce has been attributed to different persons. 1. By the public the credit or infamy of it was given to Wolsey (Instigator et auctor consilii existimabatur.—Poli Apol. ibid.); and the emperor in his answer to Henry's defiance, openly charges the cardinal with it.—Apud Le Grand, iii. 46. 2. Wolsey denied or admitted it, as best suited his purpose. He denied it in presence of the king in the legatine court (Cavendish, 428), and repeatedly boasted of it to the French ambassador.—Apud Le Grand, iii. 186, 200, 318, 319. 3. Henry himself declared that the idea originated not with the cardinal, but with himself; and that his scruples were confirmed by the bishop of Tarbes (Cavendish, ibid. Le Grand, iii. 218. Hall, 180); and Longland, the king's confessor, agrees with him so far as to say that he derived his first information respecting it from Henry.—Burnet, iii. App. p. 400. New Burnet, i. 59.

But Cardinal Pole, who, writing to the king on such a subject would hardly venture to assert what, if it were not true, Henry must have known to be false, assures us that it was first mentioned to the king by certain divines, whom Anne Boleyn sent to him for that purpose. Illa ipsa sacerdotes suos, graves theologos, quasi pignora promptæ voluntatis misit, qui non modo tibi licere affirmarent uxorem dimittere, sed graviter etiam peccare dicerent, quod punctum ullum temporis eam retineres; ac nisi continuo repudiares, gravissimam Dei offensionem denuntiarent. Hic primus totius fabulæ exorsus fuit.—Pole, f. lxxvi.

wish was no sooner communicated to Wolsey, than he offered his aid, and ventured to promise complete success. *His* views, however, were very different from those of his sovereign. Either unapprized of Henry's intentions in favour of Anne, or persuading himself that the present amour would terminate like so many others, he looked forward to the political consequences of the divorce; and that he might "perpetuate" the alliance between England and France, had already selected, for the successor of Catherine, Renée, the daughter of Louis XII.[1] The public had, indeed, fixed on Margaret, duchess of Alençon, but the letters to which I have referred show, that if he ever thought of her, he soon renounced that idea in favour of Renée.

Before we proceed, it will be necessary to direct the reader's attention to the events which, during the interval, had shaken the papal power in Italy. By the defeat of Francis at Pavia, Clement found himself placed in a most delicate situation, the embarrassments of which were multiplied by the irresolution of his own mind and the insincerity both of his allies and of his enemies. Abandoned to the resentment of the imperialists, whose victorious troops from Naples on the south, and Lombardy on the north, could, at any moment, overrun his dominions, he concluded a treaty with their commanders; but this the emperor refused to ratify without the addition of other and more humiliating articles. Floating between hope and fear, he sometimes courted the friendship, at other times provoked the hostility of that prince; their correspondence was embittered by

[1] Lettres de l'évêque de Bayonne, apud Le Grand, iii. 166, 168

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mutual reproaches; and the charges of ingratitude and breach of faith were repelled by Clement with complaints of insatiate rapacity and ambition.[1] After the liberation of Francis, the pontiff eagerly formed a confederacy with that monarch, with Sforza, duke of Milan, and with the republics of Venice and Florence. Its object was to preserve the independence of the Italian states; and Henry was named its protector; but he refused the honour, on the ground that it contained articles with which he had no concern, and contented himself with making a collateral alliance with Francis, by which both monarchs bound themselves to consent to no arrangement with the emperor, which did not include security for the money due to Henry from that prince, and an engagement on his part to release the two sons of Francis on the payment of a million of crowns. The Italians collected an army; but the French monarch, though he promised much, performed nothing; and Clement was reduced to the necessity of again soliciting a peace. His request was granted by Moncada, the governor of Naples; and yet that officer, under pretence of revenging the wrongs of the Colonnesi, at the end of four weeks, advanced in secrecy to the walls of Rome, seized one of the gates, compelled the pontiff to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, and plundered the rich palace of the Vatican. A second treaty was concluded; new outrages followed on both sides; the allies again took the field; and a faint gleam of success gave a transient lustre to their arms.

1526. May 22.

August 8.

August 22.

Sept. 20.

To reinforce the imperialists, Freundsberg, a German partisan, had raised a body of his countrymen, amount-

[1] See Pallavicino, i. 235—242.

ing to fourteen thousand men; and these were joined at Fiorenzuola by Bourbon with ten thousand needy adventurers, partly Spaniards and partly Italians. This formidable army had neither pay nor provisions; but the leaders undertook to enrich themselves and their followers with the plunder of Florence and Rome; and though the allies carefully watched their steps, though they occasionally interrupted their progress, still the adventurers, stimulated by hope and necessity, continued to hasten towards their prey. Clement in his consternation submitted to articles of peace dictated by Lannoy, the viceroy of Naples; but the imperialists despised the authority of that general; his orders to withdraw were disobeyed; and his life was threatened when he ventured into their camp. Florence owed its preservation to the rapid and seasonable interposition of the allied army; but the adventurers precipitated their march upon Rome; and in the first week of May reached the walls of that capital. The next day Bourbon (Freundsberg lay sick at Ferrara) led them to the assault; and, though he fell by a musket-ball as he was mounting a ladder, the city was taken, and was abandoned during five days to the mercy of a licentious and infuriate soldiery. The Spaniards and Italians chiefly confined themselves to the plunder of the houses and palaces; the Germans, who had embraced the doctrines of Luther, ransacked the churches and convents. Every species of torture was employed to draw from the captives the disclosure of their hidden wealth; and women of every rank were promiscuously subjected to the brutality of the conquerors. If we may believe the contemporary writers, the horrors which attended the sack of Rome exceeded whatever the imagination can picture; and the eternal

A.D. 1527.

Jan. 15.

March 25.

April 26.

May 5.

May 6

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city suffered more from the ravages of a Christian army than it had ever done from the hostility of pagan barbarians. At length Moncada arrived, and by his presence checked the licentiousness of the soldiers; Clement, who had fled into the castle of St. Angelo, was carefully surrounded, and besieged by his enemies.[1]

May 10.

While Bourbon led his hungry followers to the sack of Rome, the kings of England and France were idly employed in devising offensive leagues and matrimonial alliances. Francis before his liberation from captivity had been contracted to Leonora, the emperor's sister; but his subsequent offer to proceed to the solemnization of marriage was rejected by Charles, on the ground that he had not yet complied with the other obligations of the treaty; now Henry, to widen the breach between the two sovereigns, tendered to Francis the hand of the princess Mary, who had reached her eleventh year. The French monarch,

March 24.

equally anxious to bind his English brother to his interests, accepted the offer, urged an immediate marriage, and made light of the objections which the father drew from the immature age of his daughter.[2] But Henry was inflexible; and the French ambassadors, the bishop of Tarbes and the viscount of

April 30.

Turenne, at length signed a treaty, by which it was agreed that the princess should marry either Francis, or his second son the duke of Orleans; Francis, as it was afterwards explained, if that monarch should

[1] Pallavicino, 242—246. Guicciard. 1264. Muratori, xiv. 224—235. Du Bellay, 113.

[2] Herbert, 197. A letter from the bishop of Bath contains a most singular proposal from the mother of Francis on this subject. —Fiddes, Collect. p. 141.

remain a widower till she arrived at the age of puberty; the duke of Orleans, if in the interval it should be deemed desirable by both parties that the king should marry Leonora. Two other treaties were concluded at the same time, that both monarchs should jointly make war on the emperor, if he rejected the proposals which they meant to offer; that Henry for himself, his heirs and successors, should renounce all claim to any lands at that time in possession of the king of France, and that Francis and his successors should pay for ever to Henry and his heirs a yearly rent of fifty thousand crowns of gold, in addition to all other sums due to him from the French monarch.[1] It was during the conferences respecting this marriage that the bishop of Tarbes, if we may believe the suspicious assertion of the king and the cardinal, ventured to ask whether the legitimacy of the princess were unimpeachable? What could prompt him to put the question, we are not informed. It is certain that he had no such instructions from his court, which still continued to solicit the union; and the public afterwards believed that he spoke by the suggestion of Wolsey, who sought to supply the king with a decent pretext for opening his project of a divorce.[2] Before their departure Henry gave to the ambassadors a magnificent entertainment at Greenwich. Three hundred lances were broken before supper; in the evening the company withdrew to the ball-room, where they were entertained with

May 5.

[1] It was to be paid perpetuis sæculis futuris—ad extremum usque annorum decursum, quem divina providentia mundi hujus terminum posuit et determinavit. In addition the English king was also to receive on board his own ships yearly a certain quantity of the salt of Brouage to the value of 15,000 crowns.—Rym. xiv. 221. Herb. 80.

[2] See note (F).

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an oration and songs, a fight at barriers, and the dancing of maskers. About midnight the king and Turenne retired with six others, disguised themselves as Venetian noblemen, and returning took out ladies to dance. The reader will not be surprised to learn that Henry's partner was Anne Boleyn.[1]

That lady still retained her ascendancy over the heart of the king, to whom a divorce from Catherine was now become an object of greater importance than the friendship of the most powerful prince in Christendom. He communicated his doubts respecting the validity of his marriage to several canonists and divines; who easily discovered the real wish of their

[1] "Fusmes chez la Royne ou l'on dansa, et M. de Turaine par le "commandement dudict Seigneur Roy, dansa avec Madame la Prin- "cesse, et le Roy avec Mistress Boulan, qui a este nourrie en France "avecque la feue Royne."—Journal 5 de May, MSS. de Brienne, f. 80. It is plain that the writer of this journal had no knowledge of the fact generally assumed as granted, that Anne was just returned from France after having lived for some years in the family of the duchess of Alençon. We have a multitude of documents respecting her during the year 1527, and a multitude of others during each succeeding year of her life, yet there is not, I believe, in all of them together a single passage which by any ingenuity can be tortured into a meaning allusive to her supposed connection with the duchess of Alençon. The first mention of this connection, as far as I can learn, occurs in Meteren, the Dutch historian of the Netherlands, about the end of this century; but Meteren, when he refers to matters not concerning his own country, betrays the most profound ignorance or insincerity. Thus, on this very subject, he makes Anne reside with the duchess of Alençon (the queen of Navarre) till the year 1532, when she accompanies her mistress to the interview between Henry and Francis at Calais and Boulogne, where Henry sees her and falls in love with her. "La dite Anna Bollain demeura "en France, premierement près de la Royne Claude, et puis apres "pres de la Royne de Navarre, avec laquelle elle vint à Calais et à "Bologne ou les deux Roys se devoyent entreparler, ou le Roy "Henry la vid, et luy pleut tellement qu'il ne reposa point, qu'il ne "l'eut en Angleterre et qu'il l'eut espousée."—Meteren, L'Histoire des Pays Bas, traduit de Flamand en Francoys par T. D. L. Huye. Amstelod. 1670, fol. 20. Now we know that the queen of Navarre was not at that interview, and that Henry himself took Anne with him to it.—See later, c. iii. anno 1532.

sovereign through the thin disguise with which he affected to cover it,—the scruples of a timorous conscience, and the danger of a disputed succession.[1] Most of them, from a passage in Leviticus, contended that no dispensation could authorize a marriage with the widow of a brother; two from passages in Deuteronomy inferred, that the prohibition was not universal, but admitted an exception in the king's case, where the first marriage had been unproductive of issue.[2] The advocates for the divorce were disconcerted by this reply of their opponents; and abandoning the arguments from Scripture, began to question the validity of the dispensation on three other grounds: 1. Because it was not sufficiently ample; 2. because it had been obtained under false pretences; and 3. because it had been solicited without the consent of Henry, the party chiefly interested in it.

At the close of the late negotiation it had been agreed that Wolsey should proceed to the continent, that he might settle in person with Francis certain points which still remained in suspense. Of these, the chief, in the king's estimation, regarded the promised marriage of the princess Mary. How could he give her, as his heir-apparent, to Francis, at the moment when he intended to bastardize her by repudiating her mother? That monarch still insisted on their union; and the most that Wolsey could obtain in the conferences in April was, that the marriage should take place either with the king or his second

[1] So much so that Pace, in a letter to Henry, uses repeatedly "ayenst *you*," or "for *you*" as synonymous with "against the "*divorce*, for the *divorce*."—Knight's Erasmus, App. p. xxv.

[2] Levit. xviii. 16; xx. 21. Deuteron. xxv. 5.—See note (G) at the end of the volume.

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son, the duke of Orleans. Henry would not consent to the first part of this alternative; and therefore imposed on his minister the task of persuading Francis to be satisfied with the second, or to break off the intended marriage altogether.[1] It was with many misgivings that the cardinal had accepted the commission. He knew that the advice came from his political enemies, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the lord Rochford, all warm advocates for the divorce; and he foresaw that they would improve the opportunity of his absence to undermine his credit with the king, by insinuating that he was an enemy to it. Perhaps he might have succeeded in his attempt to avoid this mission, had not the news arrived of the recent occurrences in Italy. The king, though he felt, or affected to feel, the deepest grief for the misfortunes of the pontiff, was not blind to the benefits which might be derived from his captivity. It might be assumed as a proof of the insatiate ambition of Charles; it would give the sanction of religion to the war in which Henry's engagements with Francis would probably involve him; and, above all, it would supply the cardinal with a pretext for deciding, without the papal interference, the question of the divorce in his legatine court. New prospects were opened; new treaties were to be negotiated; and Wolsey made up his mind to fulfil with apparent cheerfulness the pleasure of his sovereign.[2]

June 2.

Hitherto the king had concealed his thoughts respecting a divorce from the knowledge of the queen, and with that view had sworn to secrecy every individual to whom they had been communicated. But

[1] State Papers, i. 191.
[2] State Papers, 191. Cavendish, c. xiii.

Catherine's eyes had witnessed his partiality for her maid, and her jealousy at last discovered the whole intrigue. In a fit of passion she reproached him to his face with the baseness of his conduct; attributing it, however, to the policy of the cardinal, and to his hostility to her on account of her family. After a "shorte tragedie," Henry appeased her. He appealed to her piety; and protested that his only object was to search out the truth, and to tranquillize his own conscience. She replied that she came a virgin to his bed; that she would never admit that she had been living in incest for eighteen years; and that she would have, what could not in justice be denied her, the aid of both native and foreign counsel to defend her right.[1] From that moment all her proceedings were strictly watched; for it was become of importance to cut her off from all communication with the emperor, as long as that prince kept the pontiff in his custody. Still, in defiance of every precaution, she found the means of sending information to the archduchess in Flanders, and also to her nephew in Spain.[2]

June 30.

In the meanwhile the cardinal had set out on his embassy, having previously begged of the king by letter to defend him during his absence against those who might represent him as a covert opponent of the divorce.[3] As he passed through Kent he disclosed the

July 1.

July 3.

[1] State Papers, i. 195, 197.

[2] Ibid. i. 215, 217, 220, 275.

[3] Ibid. 195. Wolsey, in speaking of the queen's quarrel with Henry, had expressed a fear that her obstinacy would interpose many impediments in the way of the divorce. This had been misrepresented to the king, as a betrayal of his real sentiments; and Henry had by Wolman reproached him with insincerity and lukewarmness. He denied the charge, "taking God to recorde that there was "nothing erthely that he coveted so much as the avauncyng there-

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"king's secret matter"—so it was called—to the prelates of Canterbury and Rochester, telling them that it was first mooted by the bishop of Tarbes in the late conferences, and soliciting their opinion, because he would be called upon to discuss the question with the French ministers.[1] Crossing the sea, he entered France, where he was received with all the distinction due to a crowned head, because he had been appointed locum-tenens of the king. Pageants were exhibited; addresses were delivered; and in every town the prisons were thrown open at his command. These honours might flatter; they did not satisfy the cardinal. By no messages, no prayers, could he obtain permission to proceed to Paris, or prevail on the French monarch to visit him. Francis, under different pretexts, kept Wolsey at Abbeville, that he himself might remain unshackled, till he had ascertained the fate of the proposals which the French and English ambassadors had conjointly made to the emperor.[2] They were refused; and then the king hastened with his court to Amiens, anxious to atone to the cardinal by his present attentions for his past neglect. He knew that Charles, to detach Henry from the alliance, had made to him the offer of Milan, with the hand of the princess of Portugal for the duke of Richmond, the king's natural son; but fortunately Wolsey, though his sovereign hesitated, looked on the overture as a

July 4.

July 11.

July 21.

"of."—Ibid. This was on the first of July, and he set off on the third.

[1] I do not believe his story. See note (H).

[2] Tarbes and Poyntz proposed that Charles should restore his hostages, the two sons of Francis, and that Francis, in return, should pay 2,000,000 of crowns, should resign his claim to Naples and his feudal superiority over Flanders and Artois, and leave Sforza in Milan on certain conditions.—Vesp. C. iv. 146.

mere artifice,[1] and seized the opportunity to obtain from the apprehensions of Francis every object which he sought. On his representation that no peace could be hoped for in Europe, unless the French king should marry Leonora, Francis consented, though not without a real or pretended struggle, to waive the claim to the princess Mary. It was agreed that she should marry the duke of Orleans, a boy eight years old; but that the articles of marriage—Mary throughout the negotiation was considered heir-apparent—should not be settled till the young prince had attained the age of puberty; and that if, for any reason, or on account of *any event which might come to pass*, the marriage did not take place, that failure should not interrupt the friendship between the crowns, nor invalidate any provision of the treaties concluded between them. It was also resolved that, in order to avoid the expense of the personal interview of the two kings formerly stipulated, the present meeting of Francis and the cardinal should be taken for the fulfilment of that provision. Several questions respecting the subsidy to be paid by Henry towards the Italian war were then adjusted; and the two kings were made to unite in a declaration, that, as long as the pontiff remained in captivity, they would neither consent to the convocation of the general council, nor admit any bull or breve issued by Clement in derogation of their rights, or of the rights of their subjects; that during the same period the concerns of each national church should be conducted by its own bishops; and that the judgments of Wolsey in his legatine court should, in defiance of any papal prohibition, be carried into execution, whatever might be the

August 18.

[1] State Papers, 234, 265, 268.

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rank of the party condemned; a clause of which the real, though secret, object was to invest Wolsey with unlimited power in the trial of the divorce, and to deprive Catherine of any aid from the authority of the pontiff.[1]

Whilst the ambassador was employed in these treaties, Henry, at the persuasion of Wakefield, professor of Hebrew in the university of Oxford, had resumed the plan so recently abandoned, and had resolved to rest his cause on the prohibition in Leviticus.[2] With this view a treatise was composed. The materials may have been furnished by others; but the king laboured assiduously at the work himself, and fortified his case with every argument and authority which his reading or ingenuity could supply.[3] The result was such as might have been anticipated. He convinced himself by his own reasoning; he believed that no impartial judge could pronounce against him; he began to look upon every man as an enemy who dared to doubt of the success of his cause. In this temper of mind it was with deep displeasure that he read the letters of the cardinal from France, detailing the difficulties which must arise from the observance of judicial forms, the opposition of the emperor, and the obstinacy, the protests, and the appeals of Catherine;

August 19.

[1] State Papers, 135—253, 256—263. Rym. xiv. 203—227.

[2] See the narrative of Pole (cum hic causa labare videretur ministri puellæ pro se quisque illam suffulciunt, fol. lxxvi.), and Wakefield's letters in Knight's Erasmus, App. xxv. This man's vanity prompted him to assert, that he could bring forward arguments for either side, unknown to any other man in the kingdom. He was originally against the king, but became his advocate when he was told that the marriage with Arthur had been consummated.

[3] Henry in one of his letters to Anne writes, that his book maketh substantially for his purpose—that he had been writing it four hours that day—and then concludes with expressions too indelicate to be transcribed.—Hearne's Avesbury, 360.

representing the objections which might be opposed to the legitimacy of the king's issue by a future wife, unless the judgment to be pronounced by himself were confirmed by the pontiff; and suggesting a variety of expedients, all of uncertain result, but all tending to his own aggrandizement. Henry rejected these suggestions, and let him know that they were thought to proceed more from a wish to gratify his own ambition than to promote the cause of his sovereign.[1] It was in vain that Wolsey despatched the bishop of Bath to explain what he considered the real state of the question; that he declared himself "ready to expose his "body, life, and blood for the achieving of the royal "interest."[2] The king's distrust was now too deeply rooted; he refused to give his confidence to the agents employed by Wolsey, resolved to negotiate with the pope through an envoy of his own; and selected for that mission his secretary Knight, though the cardinal

August 24

[1] See State Papers, 230, 254, 267, 270. This letter, full of reproof, was written "with the privity" of the cardinal's enemies in the cabinet, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the lord Rochford; but at the same time another letter was written without their privity, to which the king gave him most hearty thanks, for his prudence in pnisponing the disclosure of the secret matter to Francis, and for his devices to procure its success with the pontiff.—Ellis, 3 ser. ii. 88.

[2] Ibid. 273. When the bishop urged the difficulties foreseen by the cardinal, the king replied "that he had studied the matter him-"self, and found the marriage unlawful jure divino, and undispens-"able." As for delay, he cared not for it. He had waited eighteen years, and could wait four or five more; and with respect to the queen's supposed appeal, he did not expect that she would appeal from the judgment of the prelates of Canterbury, Rochester, Ely, and London. Bath asked, if she might not be induced to enter a convent, or he might not consider quid posset clam fieri in foro conscientiæ. Henry quickly replied, "My lord of Bath, the bull is good "or it is naught. If it is naught, let it be so declared; and, if it be "good, it shall never be broken by *no byways* by me."—Bath's letter of Aug. 30, apud Herb. 99.

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pronounced him unfit for so delicate an office. Knight was ordered to call on Wolsey in his way, and to ask his advice as to the best means of gaining access to Clement, but on no account to communicate to him the instructions which he had received.

The envoy found Wolsey at Compeigne, where he had gone to pay his respects to Louise, the mother of Sept. 13. Francis, and delivered to him a letter of recall from Henry, accompanied, however, with another in the king's own hand, thanking him for his services during the negotiations at Amiens.[1] Having hastily collected Sept. 16. the French cardinals, he prevailed on them to join him in a common letter to Clement, in which they acquainted the pontiff with the provisions of the late treaty respecting the acts which might be done by him in prison, and solicited him to appoint a delegate for the exercise of the papal power on this side of the Alps during his captivity.[2] He then proceeded to take his leave of the king and his mother, and to give them, for the first time, as had been previously devised,[3] a hint of the intended divorce, but "in so dark "and cloudy a sorte," that his real meaning might be an enigma to be disclosed by the event. With this view he assured Louise—probably he did the same to Francis—that, "if she lived another year, she "should "see as great union on one side, and disunion on the

[1] He thanks the king most gratefully for this condescension, and takes God to be his judge, that whatever opinion the king might have formed through report or suggestion, he had no notion of private power or profit, but only of the advancement of the king's *secret affair*.—State Pap. 277, 8.

[2] Le Grand, iii. 4. Guicciard. xviii. 78.

[3] "Handling the same after such a cloudy and dark sorte that he "shal not knowe your grace's utter determynacion and intent in "that behalf, till your highness shall see to what effect the same "wol be brought."—Stat. Pap. 260, 261.

"other, as she would ask or wish for." "These," he added, "were not idle words. Let her treasure them "up in her memory; time would explain them."[1] There can be no doubt that he meant the divorce of Henry from Catherine, and a marriage between Henry and the French princess, probably Renée, daughter of Louis XII.[2]

Oct. 20. The cardinal was followed to England by ambassadors from Francis, who brought to Henry the decorations of the order of St. Michael. Soon afterwards the king took an opportunity of communicating to Wolsey his fixed determination to marry Anne Boleyn. The minister received the intelligence with grief and dismay. The disparity of her birth, the danger of being supplanted by a rival family, the loss of the French interests, which he hoped to secure by a future marriage with a French princess, and the additional difficulties which this resolution would throw in the way of the divorce, crowded upon his mind. On his knees he besought the king to recede from a project which would cover him with disgrace;[3] but, aware of the royal temper, he soon desisted from his opposition, became a convert to the measure which he could not avert, and laboured by his subsequent services to atone for the crime of having dared to dispute the pleasure of his sovereign. The king's case or treatise was now laid before Sir Thomas More, who, pleading his ignorance of theology, suspended his judgment; and before the bishop of Rochester, who, having maturely weighed the arguments on both sides, gave an opinion un-

[1] Le Grand, iii. 186. [2] Id. 166. See note (I).

[3] Cavendish, p. 416. The reasons are frequently mentioned by the bishop of Bayonne, as having been communicated to him by Wolsey.

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favourable to the divorce.[1] It was to no purpose that the cardinal employed his eloquence and authority; that he repeatedly held assemblies of prelates and divines; few could be induced to pronounce in favour of the king;[2] and the most that he could obtain was a declaration, that the motives alleged by Henry furnished a reasonable ground for scruple, and that, for the ease of his conscience, he ought to refer the matter to the Holy See, and abide by its decision.[3] With the nation at large the royal cause was unpopular. The fate of a princess who had for so many years been acknowledged as queen, and who had displayed in that situation every virtue which could grace a throne, was calculated to awaken in her favour the feelings of the public; and those who could not appreciate the real merits of the question were prompted to prefer her cause from their opposition to the cardinal, the supposed author of the project; their detestation of the present alliance with France, the ancient enemy of England, and their fears that the divorce would lead to the interruption of that advantageous intercourse which had subsisted for centuries between this island and the emperor's subjects in the Netherlands.[4]

[1] More's Works, p. 1425. Fisher's letter (anno 1527) in Fiddes, p. 148.

[2] Peu de leurs docteurs veulent condescendre à leur opinion. L'évêque de Bayonne, apud Le Grand, iii. 205. Initio causa tua una cum iis, qui ipsius patrocinium susceperant, in ipso tuo regno ex omnibus scholis explosa est.—Pole, f. lxxvii.

[3] Rym. xiv. 301. This document is dated July 1, 1529. But that date refers merely to the certificate itself; the consultation which it describes is evidently the same as is mentioned by Sir Thomas More, 1425.

[4] These particulars are extracted from the letters of the bishop of Bayonne, apud Le Grand, iii. 76, 81, 85, 96, 169. Wakefield says in one of his letters, that if the people knew that he was writing against the queen, he should be stoned to death.—Knight's Erasmus

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One great point, which exercised and perplexed the ingenuity of the royal advisers, was to effect the divorce in so firm and legal a manner, that no objection might be afterwards raised to the legitimacy of the king's issue by a subsequent marriage. For three months instructions were issued and revoked, amended and renewed, to the royal agent in Italy, Dr. Knight, to Wolsey's agents, the three brothers Da Casale, and to Staphilæo, dean of the Rota, whose approbation of the divorce had been obtained in his late visit to London. The emperor, on the other hand, had professed a determination to support the honour of his aunt; and demanded of the pontiff, who, to procure provisions, had been compelled to admit the imperialists into the castle of St. Angelo, an inhibition to prevent the cause from being tried before any judge in England, with a promise that he would not consent to any act preparatory to a divorce, without the previous knowledge of Charles himself. To the last of these demands Clement assented; but he refused the first, on the ground that it was contrary to the established usage.

June 7.

In the meanwhile a French army commanded by Lautrec, and accompanied by Sir Robert Jerningham, the English commissary, had crossed the Alps for the avowed purpose of liberating the pope from confinement. Lombardy was soon conquered; in his haste to reach Rome, the French general left Milan behind him, and marched with expedition to Piacenza; but there he unaccountably loitered for weeks, concluding useless alliances with the petty princes of Italy. The patience of Clement was exhausted by these delays;

App. xxviii. Pole also says, ipsis etiam defensoribus (causæ tuæ) vario contumeliæ genere affectis.—Pole, fol. lxxvii.

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a negotiation was opened between him and his captors; and it was agreed that, on the payment of part of his ransom, he should be restored to liberty, and on the payment of another part, his states should be evacuated by the imperialists.[1] Observing, however, that the vigilance of his keepers began to relax, he contrived to escape one evening in the disguise of a gardener, and reached in safety the strong city of Orvieto. There the first who waited on him were the English envoys. They congratulated the pontiff on the recovery of his liberty, but required his immediate attention to the requests of their sovereign.

Nov. 26.

Dec. 5.

To Clement nothing could have happened more distressing than this untimely visit. Bound to Henry by the ties of gratitude, he was unwilling to disoblige his benefactor; with his capital and his states in the possession of the imperialists, he dreaded to provoke the resentment of the emperor. The envoys presented to him for signature two instruments, by the first of which he would empower Wolsey (in case of objection to Wolsey they were permitted to substitute Staphilæo) to hear and decide the cause of the divorce; by the second he would grant to Henry a dispensation to marry, in the place of Catherine, any other woman whomsoever, even if she were already promised to another, or related to himself within the first degree of affinity.[2] The latter he signed without any altera-

Dec 16.

[1] The treaty is in Le Grand, iii. 48.

[2] This dispensation was thought necessary to secure the intended marriage with Anne Boleyn from two objections, which might afterwards be brought against it. 1. A suspicion was entertained that she had been actually contracted to Percy, and was therefore his lawful wife. On this account the dispensation was made to authorize the king's marriage with any woman, etiamsi talis sit, quæ prius cum alio contraxerit, dummodo illud carnali copula non fuerit consum-

tion, the former, after it had been composed in a new style by the cardinal Santi Quatri; but, in delivering these instruments to Knight, he observed that he had sacrificed the considerations of prudence to those of gratitude; that his safety, perhaps his life, now depended on the generosity of the king; that prince might make what use of the commission he deemed proper; but, if he would wait till the evacuation of the papal territories should secure the pontiff from the actual resentment of Charles, or till the approach of the French army under Lautrec could furnish him with an excuse for his conduct, a second commission of similar import might be issued, and the king would obtain the same object without compromising the safety of his friend. But whether the English cabinet knew not what course to prefer, or sought to draw from the pontiff more important concessions, Knight had scarcely left Orvieto, when Gregorio da Casale was instructed to request that a legate from Rome might be sent to England, and joined in the commission with Wolsey. To this also Clement assented, offering to Henry the choice out of six cardinals; but added,

1528. Jan. 1.

matum. 2. Mary Boleyn had been Henry's mistress. Now the relationship between sister and sister is as near as the relationship between brother and brother; whence it was argued that, if Henry, as he contended, could not validly marry Catherine, on the supposition that she had been carnally known by *his* brother Arthur, so neither could Anne validly marry Henry, because he had carnally known *her* sister Mary. On this account the following clause was introduced. Etiamsi illa tibi alias secundo aut remotiore consanguinitatis aut *primo affinitatis gradu*, etiam ex quocumque licito seu *illicito* coitu proveniente, invicem conjuncta sit, dummodo relicta fratris tui non fuerit.—See the dispensation in Herbert, p. 294. Thus the king was placed in a most singular situation, compelled to acknowledge in the pontiff a power which he at the same time denied, and to solicit a dispensation of the very same nature with that which he maintained to be invalid.

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"the king is said by some to have chosen a most "circuitous route. If he be convinced in his con- "science, as he affirms, that his present marriage is "null, he might marry again. This would enable me, "or the legate, to decide the question at once. Other- "wise it is plain that by appeals, exceptions, and "adjournments, the cause must be protracted for "many years."[1]

In the meantime Wolsey urged his sovereign to the faithful performance of those engagements which he had lately contracted with the king of France. The ambassadors from the two powers were recalled Jan. 22. from the imperial court on the same day; and Clarenceaux and Guienne, kings at arms, defied Charles in the names of their respective sovereigns. To Guienne the emperor replied that the defiance was superfluous, since he and Francis had long been at war; but to Clarenceaux he delivered an eloquent justification of his own conduct, coupled with a sharp Jan. 27. remonstrance against that of the cardinal. In this paper he acknowledges the moneys which he had borrowed of Henry, and professes his readiness to repay them in due time and manner on the recovery of his bonds and pledges; but he strongly denies any obligation of indemnity to the king of England for the suspension of those annual rents which Francis had

[1] See the records in Strype, i. 46—75, and Burnet, i. Rec. ii. No. iii. iv. v. vi. He tells us, from a letter of Knight's, that the cardinal Santi Quatri "got 4,000 crowns as the reward of his pains, "and in earnest of what he was to expect when the matter should "be brought to a conclusion" (p. 48). But this is a mistake. From a posterior despatch of the 31st of May, it appears that 2,000 crowns had been offered in testimonium acceptæ gratitudinis, but that he could not be prevailed upon to accept a penny.—Strype, i. App. p. 51.

refused to pay during the last war; because he had received a promise from the cardinal that no indemnity should ever be demanded, and because Francis had taken the debt upon himself by the treaties both of Madrid and of London. Neither was he liable to the stipulated penalty for the breach of his promise to marry the princess Mary, since Henry had refused to allow the solemnization of the nuptials when it was demanded, and had signified his consent to the marriage of the emperor with Isabella. "God grant," he added, "that I may not have better reason to defy "him, than he has to defy me. Can I pass over the "injury with which he threatens my aunt by his ap"plication for a divorce; or the insult which he has "offered to me by soliciting me to marry a daughter "whom he now pronounces a bastard? But I am "perfectly aware from whom these suggestions pro"ceed. I would not satisfy the rapacity of the cardi"nal of York, nor employ my forces to seat him in "the chair of St. Peter; and he in return has sworn "to be revenged, and now seeks to fulfil his purpose. "But if war ensue, let the blood that must be shed "rest, where it ought, on the head of him who was "the original instigator of it."[1]

In England the popular feeling was openly and unequivocally expressed. The merchants refused to frequent the new marts which had been opened in France, as substitutes for those in the Netherlands; the wool-carders, spinners, and clothiers could procure no sale for their manufactures; and the spirit of disaffection so rapidly and widely diffused itself, that the royal officers were instructed to watch and suppress the

[1] I have abridged this interesting document, which is published by Le Grand, iii. 27—48.

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first symptoms of insurrection. In the cabinet all the members excepting Wolsey were secretly hostile to the French alliance, and anxiously waited for the first reverse of fortune to effect the ruin of the favourite. Even Henry himself was disposed to peace, in the hope that a reconciliation with the emperor might induce that prince to withdraw his opposition to the divorce, and thus liberate Clement from the fear of incurring his resentment. Wolsey stood alone; but fortunately an overture was made by the archduchess Margaret, the governess of the Netherlands; a negotiation followed; and, after several ineffectual attempts to conclude a general peace, an armistice for eight months was signed between England and the Low Countries, while hostilities should still continue between England and Spain.[1]

March 16.

June 15.

When Wolsey first solicited the commission and dispensation, he must have been aware that the pon-

[1] These particulars are taken from the despatches of the French ambassadors published by Le Grand, iii. 81—105. He says of the cardinal (Feb. 6), Je pense qu'il est le seul en Angleterre, qui veult la guerre en Flandres; and Feb. 23, Pensez, que ce n'est peu de frais, que soustenir une chose contre tous les aultres, et avoir le tort, au moins de ce qui se peult veoir le plus près de son costé. See also Hall, 72, 73, 76. Sir Thomas More, who was one of the council, tells us that, when the others advised the king to remain at peace, and leave Charles and Francis to quarrel by themselves, the cardinal always repeated a fable of certain wise men, who foresaw that a great rain was coming which would make fools of all whom it should fall upon, and to escape it hid themselves under ground, but when they came out they found the fools so numerous, that, instead of governing them, they were forced to submit to be governed by them. Whence he inferred that, if the English sat still while the fools fought, the fools would at last unite and fall upon them. "I will not dispute," he adds, "upon his grace's counsayle, and I "truste we never made warre but as reason woulde. But yet this "fable for hys parte dydde in hys dayes help the king and the "realme to spend many a rayre penye. But that geare is passed, "and hys grace is gone; our Lorde assoyle his soule."—More, 1436. See also State Pap. i. 285; and Rym. xiv. 259.

tiff would still be at liberty to revoke the cause from England to his own court, or to revise the sentence which might be pronounced by his delegates. He now ventured to proceed a step further. The secretary, Dr. Stephen Gardiner, a man eminently versed in the civil and canon law,[1] and the king's almoner, Dr. Edward Fox, a most earnest advocate for the divorce, were appointed agents, with instructions to call at Paris for recommendatory letters from the French king, to hasten thence to Venice, where they were to demand the restoration of Ravenna and Cervia to the Roman church, a restoration which Clement most anxiously desired; and from Venice to proceed to Orvieto, call to their aid Staphilæo, and the brothers Gregorio and Vincenzo da Casale, and by their united efforts extort from the gratitude or timidity of the pontiff his signature to two instruments which had been sent from England. Of these, one was a dispensation of the same import with the preceding, but in more ample form; the second was called a decretal bull, in which the pope was made to pronounce in favour of the prohibition in Leviticus, and to declare that it was part of the divine law, admitting of no exception nor dispensation.[2]

Feb. 10.

It had been insinuated to Clement that the real object of the king was to gratify the ambition of a woman, who had sacrificed her honour to his passion, on condition that he should raise her to the throne; but after the perusal of a letter from Wolsey he be-

March 22.

[1] Wolsey calls him, primarium secretissimorum consiliorum secretarium, mei dimidium, et quo neminem habeo cariorem.—Burnet, Rec. No. viii.

[2] No copy of the decretal bull is extant. But that such was its purport is plain from the despatches in Strype, i. App. 56, 60, 77.

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lieved, or at least professed to believe, that Anne Boleyn was a lady of unimpeachable character, and that the suit of Henry proceeded from sincere and conscientious scruples.[1] To the agents he replied that he was bound in gratitude to grant to the king every indulgence compatible with honour and equity, and would immediately sign the dispensation, because it could not affect in its consequences the interests of any third person. But with respect to the decretal bull, he demurred; a congregation of cardinals and theologians was convened; and it was unanimously agreed that to issue such a bull would be to determine a point of doctrine which had hitherto been freely discussed in the schools, and to condemn both the permission in Deuteronomy and the conduct of Julius II. After a long but ineffectual struggle, Gardiner abandoned this point; but he adduced so many objections against the allegations on which the original dispensation had been granted, urged with so much success the services of Henry to the Holy See, and so discreetly interwove threats with his entreaties, that a second congregation was called, in which it was resolved that a commission might issue to examine into the validity of the dispensation, since it was said on many accounts to have been surreptitiously obtained. Such a commission was accordingly prepared,

April 13.

not in the terms required by the agents, but in the most ample form which the papal council would admit, authorizing Wolsey, with the aid of any one of the other English prelates, to inquire summarily, and without judicial forms, into the validity of the dispensation granted by Julius, and of the marriage between Henry and Catherine; to pronounce, in defiance of

[1] Strype, i. App. 48.

exception or appeal, the dispensation sufficient or surreptitious, the marriage valid or invalid, according to the conviction of his conscience; and to divorce the parties, if it were invalid, but at the same time to legitimate their issue, if such legitimation were desired.[1]

May 2.

When Fox, who returned immediately to England, explained the purport of these instruments to Henry and Anne Boleyn, the king declared himself satisfied; his mistress in the tumult of her joy mistook both persons and things, and expressed in the most significant terms her gratitude for the services of the agent. But by Wolsey the commission was received with feelings of alarm and disappointment; in an assembly of canonists and divines every clause was subjected to the most minute examination; and numerous explanations, additions, and corrections were suggested. These were immediately forwarded to Gardiner with new instructions to require that Cardinal Campeggio should be joined in the commission with his English brother, as a prelate more experienced in the forms of the Roman courts.[2]

[1] Compare the records in Strype (46—75) with Pallavicino, i. 252. Burnet has published, under the name of the decretal bull, the commission such as it was penned in England. (Records, ii. No. x.) By it inquiry was to be made whether peace could not have been preserved between England and Spain without the marriage of Henry and Catherine, whether Henry really desired the marriage for that purpose, and whether Isabella, the queen, named in the deed, was alive at the time of the marriage; and the legate was authorized to pronounce the dispensation insufficient, in case any one of these questions were determined in the negative. This was refused. The real commission sent from Orvieto may be seen in Rymer, xiv. 237.

[2] Strype, i. App. 77. When the reader considers all these negotiations at Rome, he will see what credit is to be given to Henry's assertion in the instructions to his agent at the northern courts; that the pope declared he could not by law take cognizance of the cause at Rome, but it must be determined in England; and there-

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Wolsey had at first persuaded himself that a divorce might be justly pronounced, on the ground that the original dispensation had been issued without the knowledge of Henry, one of the parties concerned. He now began to hesitate; and took the opportunity of declaring to the king at one of the consultations, that though he was bound in gratitude, and was ready "to spend his goods, blood, and life," in the service of his highness, yet he was under greater obligations to God, at whose tribunal he would have to render an account of his actions, and therefore was determined to show the king no more favour than justice required; and if he found the dispensation sufficient in law, "so to pronounce it, whatever might be the conse-"quence." Henry at the moment suppressed his feelings; but in a short time gave way to his anger in language the most opprobrious and alarming.[1] Wolsey saw the danger which threatened him. Without a divorce, his power, and fortune, and perhaps his life, were at stake; with a divorce, the prospect was hardly less gloomy. Anne Boleyn was not his friend. Her relatives and advisers were *his* rivals and enemies; and he knew that they only waited for the expected marriage to effect his downfall with the aid of her influence over the mind of the king. To be prepared for the worst, he hastened to complete his different buildings, and to procure the legal endowment of his colleges; and in discourse with his confidential friends

fore requested the king to take out a commission for judges at home. —Burnet, iii. Rec. 66.

[1] The bishop of Bayonne calls them "de terribles termes."—Le Grand, iii. 164. See Strype, i. App. 84. It might be thought that this was a mere farce, had not the cardinal, a few days before, commissioned Gardiner to make out a case, and consult some of the best canonists in Rome, whether he could or could not with a safe conscience pronounce a divorce on that ground.—Ibid. 82.

assured them, that, as soon as the divorce should be pronounced, and the succession to the crown be permanently established, he would retire from court, and devote his remaining days to his ecclesiastical duties. They believed, however, that he would cling to his situation to the very last; and when he could no longer retain it, would attempt to conceal his despair under the mask of a voluntary resignation.[1]

With these views the cardinal despatched new instructions to the envoys at Rome, and wrote a most urgent and supplicating letter to the pontiff. In it he appealed to the pity and the gratitude of Clement, whom he described as the arbiter of his credit and destiny. One thing only could preserve him from ruin. Let the pope sign the decretal bull; it would restore him to his former place in the estimation of his sovereign; and the fidelity with which Wolsey would at the same time conceal its existence from the knowledge of all other persons would secure from blame the reputation of the pontiff.[2] Clement was

[1] Ou il s'en verra au desespoir, il donnera à entendre de s'en retirer volontairement.—Le Grand, iii. 165, 166.

[2] Why was he so desirous of procuring an instrument which he was never to employ? The reason which he gives could deceive no one. Ut hac quasi arrha et pignore summæ paternæque S. D. N. erga regiam majestatem benevolentiæ apud me deposita, mea apud dictam majestatem augeatur auctoritas.—Burnet, Rec. ii. No. xiv. But there were other reasons which he assigns in his instructions to Gardiner; that if the pope would once lay down the law, his conscience would be at ease, as he would have only to decide on the fact; and, the fact being once decided, the pope could not refuse to confirm the sentence of divorce, under pretence that Julius had possessed the power of granting the dispensation.—Strype, i. App. 79. Whether the bull which he at last obtained were of the tenor which he required, is unknown; but, if we may believe the king, it pronounced the marriage between Henry and Catherine unlawful and invalid, provided it could be proved before the legates that Arthur was the king's brother, that Arthur and Catherine had reached the age of puberty when they married, and that the marriage, "as

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now daily harassed with the arguments and entreaties, the threats and remonstrances of Gardiner and his colleagues. To pacify them, he promised under his own hand never to revoke the cause nor to reverse the judgment of the legates, and at last reluctantly signed the decretal commission. The pretences, however, of Wolsey did not deceive the penetration of the papal ministers; they were aware that, if he had once possession of the bull, he would not hesitate to publish it in his own defence, either with or without the permission of the pontiff; and to defeat his purpose they intrusted it to the care of the legate Campeggio, with strict orders never to suffer it out of his own hands, but to read it to the king and the cardinal, and then to commit it privately to the flames.[1]

July 23.

June 6.

Campeggio, to whom at the request of Wolsey this mission had been confided, was an eminent canonist and experienced statesman. After the death of his wife in 1509 he had taken holy orders, had been honoured with the cardinal's cap in 1517, and had been repeatedly employed by Leo and his successors in delicate and important negotiations.[2] To Francis

"far as presumptions can prove," was consummated between them.—Burnet, iii. Rec. 60. Tunstall told Catherine that "the effect of the "epistle decretall was that, yf mariage and carnall knowleadge were "had betwixt Prince Arthur and her, the legates shulde pronounce "for the divorce."—Stat. Pap. i. 421. Thus after all, though it decided the point of doctrine, it left the question of fact to the decision of the legates.

[1] The existence of this bull and authenticity of the promise have been disputed. No one can doubt of either who has read the original correspondence. The latter is always called "the chiro-"graph of policitation."—Burnet, iii. No. xvii.; also xxii. p. 56. It is in Herbert, p. 249, and Burnet, iii. Rec. 18.

[2] The cardinal brought with him to England his second son Ridolfo; whence Burnet, who was ignorant that Campeggio had formerly been married, takes occasion to represent the young man as a bastard, and the father as a person of immoral character.—Burnet, i. p. 69.

his former connection with the emperor rendered him an object of jealousy; but Henry, who had named him to the bishopric of Salisbury, and had lately made him a present of a palace in Rome, refused to listen to the suggestions of the French minister. Campeggio himself laboured to decline the appointment on account of the gout, with which he was severely afflicted; but the English agents were importunate, and to Clement himself the infirmity of the legate proved an additional recommendation. If gratitude and affection led the pontiff to favour the king of England, the experience of what he had lately suffered taught him to fear the resentment of the emperor. Charles was not wanting in the defence of his aunt; his ambassador Guignonez systematically opposed every overture which was made by Gardiner; and each prince had significantly hinted that his subsequent obedience to the see of Rome would depend on the treatment which he should receive. To add to his perplexity, victory had now deserted the French for the imperial banner. Lautrec had, indeed, driven the latter under the walls of Naples, and confidently expected the fall of that capital; but Francis, occupied with his mistresses and his pleasures, neglected to supply him with reinforcements or money; a contagious disease insinuated itself into the camp; the commander-in-chief, the English commissary, and the greater part of the men perished; and the survivors at last surrendered prisoners of war.[1] Italy lay prostrate at the feet of Charles. Clement saw that, if on the one hand he were, as the friends of Catherine urged, to determine the cause in person, his judgment, unless he should reject the

August 5.

August 29.

[1] Sandoval, ii. 11.

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opinion of his best and wisest counsellors, would draw upon him the mortal enmity of Henry, and of Henry's ally, the king of France; and that, on the other hand, if he suffered it to proceed to a sentence of divorce by his legates in England, he must expose himself without friend or protector to the resentment of the emperor. In these circumstances he resolved to prolong the controversy, in the hope that some unforeseen event might occur to relieve him from his embarrassment; and, for that purpose, the infirmities

Sept. 11. of Campeggio might, it was thought, prove of considerable service. The legate was instructed to proceed by slow journeys; to endeavour to reconcile the parties; to advise the queen to enter a monastery;

Sept. 16. to conduct the trial with due caution, and according to the established forms; but at all events to abstain from pronouncing judgment till he had consulted the Apostolic See; for, though his holiness was willing to do any thing in his power to afford satisfaction to Henry, yet in a cause which had given rise to so many scandalous remarks, and in which one imprudent step might throw all Europe into a flame, it was necessary for him to proceed with due reflection and caution.[1]

In England the cardinal had hardly expedited his last despatch, when the public business was suspended by the sudden appearance and rapid diffusion of the disease known by the name of the sweating sickness.

May 30. The mortality with which its first visit was attended in 1485 has been already described;[2] but experience had taught the method of cure; and those who now

[1] Lettere di Principi, tom. ii. Sanga's letters in the Pamphleteer, xliii. 124. Pallav. i. 258. Sanders, 32.

[2] See p. 264, of this vol.

perished owed their fate to their own ignorance or their imprudence. The patient, who felt himself affected with sickness and headache, was immediately put to bed; a profuse perspiration followed; and at the close of twenty-four hours the danger was over. But if, during that period, any part of the body were exposed to the cold air, the perspiration ceased, delirium ensued, and in a few hours life was extinguished. Out of forty thousand cases in the city of London, it was calculated that only one in twenty proved fatal.[1] At court the disease made its first appearance among the female attendants of Anne Boleyn. By the king's orders she was immediately conveyed to the seat of her father in Kent. But she carried the infection with her, and communicated it to the family. Both Anne and Lord Rochford were in imminent danger; but under the care of Dr. Butts, the royal physician, both recovered. Henry, who saw the contagion spread among the gentlemen of his privy chamber, frequently changed his residence, locked himself up from all communication with his servants or strangers, and, instead of attending to his "secret matter," joined the queen in her devotional exercises, confessing himself every day,

June 1

[1] The bishop of Bayonne describes the malady with his characteristic gaiety. Ce mal de suée, c'est, Monseigneur, une maladie qui est survenue icy depuis quatre jours, la plus aisée du mond pour mourir; on a ung peu de mal de teste et de cueur, souldain on se mict à suer. Il ne fault point de medecin, car qui se decouvre le moins du monde, on qui se couvre ung peu trop, en quatre heures, aulcunes fois en deux ou troys, on est depesché sans languir, comme on faict de ces facheuses fiebvres (p. 138). From entries in the privy purse expenses, edited by Sir Har. Nicolas, it appears that after this time the king, by way of precaution, was in the habit of expelling from Greenwich all infected, and probably suspected, families. He made them compensation.—See pp. 79, 104, 125, 129, 173.

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and receiving the communion every Sunday and festival.[1] At the same time his former esteem of the cardinal seemed to revive. He sent to Wolsey regulations for his diet during the time of the pestilence, insisted on receiving every other day an account of his health, and invited him to lodge in a house at no great distance, that, if either fell ill, they might hear from each other in the space of an hour, and might have the benefit of the same medical attendance. The cardinal, who, to conceal the place of his retreat, had eloped from his own family, imitated the conduct of the sovereign, and began to "order himself anent God."

June 23.

July 5.

He made his will, sent it to Henry for his approbation, and assured him, as truly as if he were speaking his last words, "that never, for favour, mede, gyfte, or "promysse, had he done or consented to any thing that "myght in the least poynte redownde to the king's dis-

July 9.

"honour or disprouffit." Henry on his part also made a will, and promised to send, probably did send, it to the cardinal, "that he might see the trust and harty "mynd that he had unto him above all men lyving."[2]

Whilst the pestilence continued, the absence of Anne Boleyn, the harmony in which the king lived with his wife, and the religious impression which the danger had left on his mind, excited a suspicion that he would abandon his project of a divorce; but the despatches of Gardiner, announcing the departure of Campeggio with the decretal bull and the promise, kept alive his hopes of success; and the contagion had

August 18.

no sooner ceased than he recalled his mistress to court. Anne was careful to employ every art to confirm her

[1] All these particulars are taken from the letters of the bishop of Bayonne, p. 137, 149, 152.

[2] State Pap. 289—313.

empire over her lover, and lavished protestations of gratitude on the cardinal to animate his exertions in her favour.[1] The French ambassador had foretold that the king's passion would evaporate during her absence; he now acknowledged his error, and declared that nothing short of a miracle could cure the royal infatuation.[2]

Oct. 7.

After a tedious journey, which had been repeatedly suspended by fits of the gout, Campeggio reached London, but in such a state of suffering and weakness, that he was carried in a litter to his lodgings, where he remained for several days confined to his bed. Previously to his arrival a sense of decency had induced the king to remove his mistress a second time from court. He lived with the queen apparently on the

[1] Her letters to the cardinal at this period form a singular contrast with her hostility to him when he could no longer serve her.—"All the days of my life I am most bound of all creatures, next the "king's grace, to love and serve your grace; of which I beseech "you never to doubt that ever I shall vary from this thought as long "as any breath is in my body. And as touching your grace's "trouble with the sweat, I thank our Lord that them that I desired "and prayed for are scaped, and that is the king and you.....And "as for the coming of the legate, I desire that much, and if it be "God's pleasure, I pray him to send this matter shortly to a good end, "and then I trust, my lord, to recompense part of your great pains." In another: "I do know the great pains and troubles that you have "taken for me, both day and night, is never like to be recompensed "on my part, but alonely in loving you, next to the king's grace, "above all creatures living." In a third: "I assure you that, after "this matter is brought to pass, you shall find me, as I am bound "in the meantime to owe you my service; and then look what "thing in the world I can imagine to do you pleasure in, you shall "find me the gladdest woman in the world to do it, and next under "the king's grace, of one thing I make you full promise to be assured to have it, and that is my hearty love, unfeignedly during "my life."—See these letters in Burnet, i. 55; Fiddes, 204, 205; and in Hearne's Tit. Liv. p. 106.

[2] Je suis mauvais devin; et pour vous dire ma faintaisie, je croy que le roy en est si avant, qu'aultre que Dieu ne l'en scauroit oster (p. 164).

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same terms as if there had been no controversy between them. They continued to eat at the same table, and to sleep in the same bed. Catherine carefully concealed her feelings, and appeared in public with that air of cheerfulness which she used to display in the days of her greatest prosperity.[1] The arrival of Campeggio had added to the popularity of her cause; nor could Wolsey, though he had taken every precaution to prevent disturbance, silence the common voice of the people, who publicly declared that, let the king marry whom he pleased, the husband of the princess Mary should be his successor on the throne.[2]

A fortnight elapsed before the legate was sufficiently recovered to leave his house. By the king he was Oct. 22. most graciously received; but the caution of the Italian proved a match for all the arts both of Henry and Wolsey. Though the minister harassed him with daily conferences, and the king honoured him with repeated visits; though his constancy was tempted by flattery and promises; though his son received the honour of knighthood, and to himself an offer was made of the rich bishopric of Durham; he kept his real sentiments an impenetrable secret, and never suffered himself to be betrayed into an unguarded expression. To the reasons and the solicitations of the cardinal he invariably returned the same answer;

[1] Ne à les voir ensemble se scauroit on de riens appercevoir; et jusqu'à cette heure n'ont que ung lict, et une table.—L'évêque de Bayonne, p. 170. Oct. 16, 1528. I notice this passage, because our modern historians tell us that for some years the delicacy of Henry's conscience had compelled him to abstain from Catherine's bed.

[2] Disent que quoiqu'on facze, qui epousera la princesse, sera apres roy d'Angleterre.—Id. p. 204.

that it was his wish and his duty to render the king every service consistent with the dictates of his conscience. To give a favourable bias to his judgment it was thought advisable to lay before him the opinions of canonists and divines; and these, as few among the natives approved of the royal cause, were chiefly sought among foreigners. For this purpose the bishop of Bayonne gave his own opinion in writing; and the most urgent solicitations were made to the French court to procure others with caution and secrecy. Campeggio, after he had been introduced to Henry, Oct. 27. waited on the queen, first in private, and then in the company of Wolsey and four other prelates. He exhorted her in the name of the pontiff to enter a convent, and then explained to her the objections against the validity of her marriage. Catherine replied with modesty and firmness; that it was not for herself that she was concerned, but for one whose interests were more dear to her than her own; that the presumptive heir to the crown was her daughter Mary, whose right should never be prejudiced by the voluntary act of her mother; that she thought it strange to be thus interrogated without previous notice on so delicate and important a subject; that she was a weak, illiterate woman, a stranger without friends or advisers; while her opponents were men learned in the law, and anxious to deserve the favour of their sovereign; and that she therefore demanded as a right the aid of

[1] L'évêque de Bayonne, p. 205. He thus describes his own opinion. Je tiens qu'encores que le Pape, et tous les cardinaulx eussent, et par le passé et par le present approuvé le marriage, qu'ils n'ont peu ne pourroyent faire, estant prouvé, comme l'on dit qu'il est, que le feu roy (prince) et elle ont couché ensemble; car Dieu en a piecza luy-mesmes donné sa sentence (p. 196).

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counsel of her own choice, selected from the subjects of her nephew.[1] This request was partially granted; and, in addition to certain English prelates and canonists, she was permitted to choose two foreign advocates, provided they were natives of Flanders, and not of Spain.[2]

Nov. 8.

A few days later the king undertook to silence the murmurs of the people, and summoned to his residence in the Bridewell the members of the council, the lords of his court, and the mayor, aldermen, and principal citizens. Before them he enumerated the several injuries which he had received from the emperor, and the motives which induced him to seek the alliance of the king of France. Then, taking to himself credit for delicacy of conscience, he described the scruples which had long tormented his mind on account of his marriage with the widow of his deceased brother. These he had at first endeavoured to suppress; but they were revived and confirmed by the alarming declaration of the bishop of Tarbes in the presence of his council. To tranquillize his mind he had recourse to the only legitimate remedy. He consulted the pontiff, who had appointed two delegates to hear the cause, and by their judgment he was determined to abide. He would therefore warn his subjects to be cautious how they ventured to arraign his conduct

[1] Her speech in Hall, who says he copied it from the report made by the secretary of Campeggio (Hall, 180), is in several particulars different from that given by the bishop of Bayonne (p. 190), and by Cavendish (p. 432). The reproaches with which, according to him, she loaded Wolsey, could hardly merit the praise given by the legate, modeste eam locutam fuisse.—Burnet, i. Records, ii. No. xvii. p. 44.

[2] Burnet, ibid. L'évêque de Bayonne, 195. The counsel from Flanders came to England, but left it again before the trial began —Ibid. 260.

The proudest among them should learn that he was their sovereign, and should answer with their heads for the presumption of their tongues.—Yet, with all this parade of conscious superiority, he did not refuse the aid of precaution. A rigorous search was made for arms; and all strangers, with the exception of ten merchants from each nation, were ordered to leave the capital.[1]

It was now expected that the legates would proceed to the trial; but delays were sought and created, not by the pontiff but by the king himself. Campeggio had read the decretal bull to him and his minister, who saw that, if they could once procure its publication they were assured of success. But Campeggio Nov. 2 adhered to the letter of his instructions; and the English agents were ordered to extort from the pontiff a permission that it might be exhibited at least to the members of the privy council. Clement, however, was inexorable; he insisted on the faithful performance of the conditions on which it had been granted; and condemned his own weakness in listening to the prayer of a minister, who for his personal interest scrupled not to endanger the reputation of his benefactor, and who had hitherto neglected to perform any one of the promises to which he had bound himself.[2]

Ever since the breaking up of the French army

[1] Qu'il n'y auroit si belle teste, qu'il n'en feist voller.—Id. 218. Hall has given us from memory a different version of this speech (p. 180). The natives of Flanders alone amounted to 15,000 men. —Bayonne, 232.

[2] Burnet, i. Records, ii. No. xvi. xvii. "Which decretal," says the king, "by his commandment, after and because he would not have "the effect thereof to ensue, was, after the sight thereof, embesiled "by the foresaid cardinals."—Burnet, iii. Rec. 60.

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before Naples, the war had languished in Italy; and the undisputed ascendancy maintained by the emperor enabled that prince to treat with generosity his feeble opponent, the Roman pontiff. To the surprise of the confederates he ordered the cardinal of Santa Croce to restore Civita Vecchia, and all the fortresses belonging to the Holy See; but gave him at the same time instructions to watch with care every proceeding in the papal courts, and to oppose every measure hostile to the interests of Catherine. Henry received this intelligence of the emperor's moderation with alarm; he suspected the existence of a secret understanding between Charles and Clement, complained in bitter terms of the supineness and ingratitude of

Dec. 8.

Francis, and despatched two new agents to Rome, Sir Francis Bryan, master of the henchmen, and Peter Vannes, his secretary for the Latin tongue. They were instructed to call on Francis, and represent to him the insidious and hostile machinations, as Henry considered them, of Charles; and then, proceeding to the pontiff, to withdraw him, if it were possible, from his connection with the emperor, to offer to him a body-guard of two thousand men in the pay of the kings of England and France; and to suggest that he should proclaim of his own authority an armistice among all Christian princes, and summon them to meet in the city of Avignon, where they might settle their differences under the mediation of their common father. But in addition to this visionary project, they had received instructions to retain the ablest canonists in Rome as counsel for the king; and to require, with due secrecy, their opinions on the following questions: 1. Whether, if a wife were to make a vow of chastity and enter a convent,

the pope could not, of the plenitude of his power, authorize the husband to marry again; 2. whether, if the husband were to enter into a religious order that he might induce his wife to do the same, he might not be afterwards released from his vow, and at liberty to marry; 3. and whether, for reasons of state, the pope could not license a prince to have, like the ancient patriarchs, two wives, of whom one only should be publicly acknowledged and enjoy the honours of royalty.[1]

The reader is aware that the objections to the original dispensation were of two sorts; one denying the power of the pontiff to dispense in such cases, the other denying the truth of the allegations on which the bull of Julius had been founded. Henry had wavered from one to the other, but of late relied chiefly on the latter. To his surprise, Catherine exhibited to him the copy of a *brève* of dispensation, Dec. 22. which had been sent to her from Spain. It was granted by the same pope, was dated on the same day, but was worded in such manner, as to elude the objections made to the *bull*. The king and his advisers were perplexed. The ground on which they stood was suddenly cut from under their feet. The very commission of the legates empowered them to determine the validity of the bull only; and it was moreover found that the pollicitation itself was not absolute but conditional. Henry grew peevish and suspicious; 1529. and repeated mortifications announced to the minister the precarious tenure by which he held the royal

[1] Apud Collier, ii. 29, 30. Could the proposer of these questions have, as he asserted, no other object than to quiet his present scruples. Is it not evident that he sought to surmount, by any means that could be discovered, the obstacle to his marriage with another woman?

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favour,[1] when his ambition and his master's hopes were revived by the unexpected intelligence that the

Feb. 6.

pontiff was dying, probably was dead. The kings of England and France immediately united their efforts to place him in the chair of St. Peter; and their respective ambassadors were commanded to employ all their influence and authority to procure in his favour the requisite number of votes.[2] But Clement defeated their expectations. He rose, as it were, by miracle, from the grave, then relapsed into his former weakness, and ultimately recovered. During his con-

March.

valescence, he received a letter from the legates, stating that they saw no way out of the difficulties which surrounded them, and imploring him to revoke the cause to Rome, with a secret promise to Henry to decide in his favour. This letter was followed by

April 21.

agents from the king, demanding a more ample commission, and unconditional pollicitation, and a revocation of the *brève*, or a summons to the emperor to exhibit the original within a limited time. They did not deny that some of their demands were contrary to the practice of the courts, and the due course of law; but they might be granted out of the plenitude of the papal power,[3] and Clement was bound to do so in compliance with his promise, and in return for

[1] Of these mortifications it was not the least, that the king maintained a private correspondence with Bryan at Rome, who answered by letters addressed to Anne Boleyn; a plain proof to Wolsey that he no longer possessed the royal confidence.—State Pap. i, 330.

[2] Burnet, Records, ii. No. xx. Foxe's Acts and Mon. ii. 202—205. Le Grand, iii. 296—305.

[3] "It was on those special terms de plenitudine potestatis, and "on trust that the pope would make use of it, I was sent hither, "which failing, your highness, I doubt not, right well remembreth "how Master Wolman, Mr. Bell, and I, shewed your highness "such things as were required, were not impetrable."—Gard. to Henry. Burnet, iii. No. xiv.

benefits received. Nor did they spare any pains to obtain their object. They sometimes cajoled, sometimes threatened the pontiff; they forced their way to his sick bed, and exaggerated the danger to his soul, should he die without doing justice to Henry; they accused him of ingratitude to his best friend, and of indifference to the prosperity of the church. To all their remonstrances he returned the same answer, that he could not refuse to Catherine what the ordinary forms of justice required; that he was devoted to the king, and eager to gratify him in any manner conformably with honour and equity; but that they ought not require from him what was evidently unjust, or they would find that, when his conscience was concerned, he was equally insensible to considerations of interest or of danger; that Catherine had already entered a protest in his court against the persons of the judges, and that the best advice which he could give to the king was that he should proceed without loss of time to the trial and determination of the cause within his own realm.

In this manner no fewer than seven months had been consumed since the arrival of Campeggio. But in proportion as the prospect of success grew fainter, the passion of Henry was seen to increase. Within two months after the removal of his mistress from court, he dismissed Catherine to Greenwich, and required Anne Boleyn to return. But she affected to resent the manner in which she had been treated; his letter and invitation were received with contempt; and, if she at length yielded, it was not to the command of the king, but to the tears and entreaties of her father. To soothe her pride, Henry gave her a princely establishment; allotted her apartments richly furnished,

December.

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and contiguous to his own; and exacted of his courtiers that they should attend her daily levees, in the same manner in which they had attended those of the queen.[1] It is plain from the king's letters, that though she had indulged him in liberties which no modest woman would grant, she had not hitherto gratified his passion; but after her return to court, it was rumoured that she occupied the place of the queen in private as well as public, in bed as well as at board; and it was believed that the hope or the fear of her pregnancy would compel Henry to cut short all delay, and to proceed immediately with his suit.[2] At the same time it was understood that the mother of the king of France had agreed to meet at Cambray the archduchess Margaret, for the purpose of signing a peace, the preliminaries of which had already been concluded in secret by the courts of Paris and Madrid. The intelligence dismayed and

[1] Mademoiselle de Boulan à la fin y est venue, et l'a le roy logée en fort beau logis, qu'il a faict bien accoustrer tout auprès du sien, et luy est la cour faicte ordinairement tous les jours plus grosse que de long terms elle ne fut faicte a la royne.—L'évêque de Bayonne, p. 231. Dec. 9. At Christmas Henry took her with him to Greenwich, where both he and the queen kept open house as usual, whilst Anne had a separate establishment of her own.—Le Grand, 260. In 1529 and 1530 the same holidays were kept in like manner; but in 1531 "all men sayde that there was no mirthe in that Christemas "because the queene and the ladyes were absent."—Hall, 784. In his privy purse expenses from Nov. 1529 to Dec. 1532, are more than forty entries regarding "Maistres," afterwards called "the "ladye," Anne. He gives her £100 and £110 at Christmas, "for "to disport her with," pays her bills, one of which amounts to £217, and makes her presents of jewels, robes, furs, silks, cloth of gold, a night-gown, and "lynnen for sherts." But during the same time there are only two entries of sums of £20 each, given to his daughter Mary, none of any thing given to Catherine.

[2] Je me doubte forte que depuis quelque temps ce roi ait approché bien près de Mademoiselle Anne; pour ce ne vous esbahissez pas, si l'on vouldroit expedition; car, si le ventre croist, tout sera gasté. —Id. p. 325. June 15.

irritated Henry. He inveighed against the bad faith of his "good brother and perpetual ally," and apprehended from the reconciliation of the two powers new obstacles to his divorce; while Anne Boleyn and the lords of the council laid the whole blame on the cardinal, who, they maintained, had deceived his sovereign, and sacrificed the real interests of England to his partiality for the French alliance. It was resolved to proceed to trial without delay; Gardiner was hastily recalled from Rome to be the leading counsel for the king; a license under the broad seal was issued, empowering the legates to execute their commission; and, when Wolsey solicited the appointment of ambassador at the congress of Cambray, he was told to remain at home, and aid his colleague in the discharge of his judicial functions. On the part of the English cardinal, there was no want of industry and expedition; but Campeggio obstinately adhered to established forms; and neither the wishes of the king, nor the entreaties of Wolsey, nor the exhortations of Francis, could accelerate his progress.[1]

May 30.

The court met in the parliament chamber at the Blackfriars, and summoned the king and queen to appear on the eighteenth of June. The latter obeyed, but protested against the Judges, and appealed to the pope. At the next session Henry sat in state on the right of the cardinals, and answered in due form to his name. Catherine was on their left; and, as soon as she was called, rising from her chair, renewed her protest on three grounds: because she was a stranger;

June 18.

June 21.

[1] See the letters of the bishop of Bayonne from May 20 to June 31, in Le Grand, iii. 313—356, 372. Wolsey, in his distress, solicited the king of France to write to Campeggio, and urge the expedition of the cause.

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because the judges held benefices in the realm, the gift of her adversary; and because she had good reason to believe that justice could not be obtained in a court constituted like the present. On the refusal of the cardinals to admit her appeal, she rose a second time, crossed before them, and, accompanied by her maids, threw herself at the king's feet. "Sir," said she, "I beseech you to pity me, a woman and a "stranger, without an assured friend, and without "an indifferent counsellor. I take God to witness, "that I have always been to you a true and loyal "wife; that I have made it my constant duty to seek "your pleasure; that I have loved all whom you "loved, whether I had reason or not, whether they "were friends to me or foes. I have been your wife "for years; I have brought you many children. God "knows that when I came to your bed, I was a virgin, "and I put it to your own conscience to say, whether "it was not so. If there be any offence which can be "alleged against me, I consent to depart with infamy; "if not, then I pray you do me justice." She immediately rose, made a low obeisance, and retired. An officer followed to recall her. She whispered to an attendant, and then walked away, saying, "I never "before disputed the will of my husband, and shall "take the first opportunity to ask pardon for this dis-"obedience."[1] Henry, observing the impression which her address had made on the audience, replied that she had always been a dutiful wife; that his present suit did not proceed from any dislike of her, but from the tenderness of his own conscience; that his scruples had not been suggested, but on the contrary, discouraged by the cardinal of York; that they were

[1] Cavend. 423, 424 Sanders, 39, 40.

confirmed by the bishop of Tarbes; that he had consulted his confessor, and several other bishops, who advised him to apply to the pontiff; and that in consequence the present court had been appointed, in the decision of which, be it what it might, he should cheerfully acquiesce.[1]

Notwithstanding the queen's appeal, the cause proceeded, and on her refusal to appear in person or by her attorney, she was pronounced contumacious. Several sittings were held, but the evidence and the arguments were all on the same side. The king's counsel laboured to prove three allegations: 1. That the marriage between Arthur and Catherine had been consummated; whence they inferred that her subsequent marriage with Henry was contrary to the divine law: 2. that supposing the case admitted of dispensation, yet the bull of Julius II. had been obtained under false pretences; and 3. that the *brève* of dispensation, produced by the queen, which remedied the defects of the bull, was an evident forgery. As Catherine declined the jurisdiction of the court, no answer was returned; but, if the reader impartially weigh the proceedings, which are still upon record, he

[1] Cavend. 425—428. These speeches are treated by Burnet as fictions. He supposes that the queen did not attend on the 21st, because according to the register of the trial the legates on that day ordered her to be served with a peremptory citation to appear; and adds, that Henry never appeared in court at all.—Burnet, iii. 46. He had however forgotten a letter published by himself in his first volume from the king to his agents, in which Henry says, "on that "day we and the queen appeared in person"—and adds, "after her "departure she was twice preconisate, and called eftsoons to return, "and on her refusal, a citation was decerned for her appearance on "Friday next."—Burnet, i. Records, 78. Hence it appears that the narrative of Cavendish is correct; and that the citation was ordered not in consequence of her non-appearance at all, but of her departure after appearing.

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will admit, that on the two first points the royal advocates completely failed; and that the third, though appearances were in their favour, was far from being proved.[1] Wolsey had his own reasons to urge his colleague to a speedy decision; but Campeggio, unwilling to pronounce, against his conscience, and afraid to irritate the king, solicited the pope by letter, to call the cause before himself. To add to their common perplexity, despatches had arrived from the agents at Rome, stating that the queen's appeal, with an affidavit of the reasons on which it was grounded, had been received; that the ambassadors of Charles and his brother Ferdinand daily importuned the pontiff in favour of Catherine; that the destruction of

June 21. the last remnant of the French army under St. Pol

June 29. had led to an alliance between the pope and the emperor, which rendered the former less apprehensive of the royal displeasure; that to prevent an inhibition, they had been compelled to deny that proceedings had commenced in England, an assertion which every one knew to be false; and that Clement, unable to refuse to an emperor what he could not in justice refuse to a private individual, would in a few days revoke the commission, and reserve the cognizance of the cause to himself.[2]

[1] According to Catherine's almoner, she stated her case to him thus: "Fyrst that it was in ieies of God most plaine and evydent "that she was never known of prince Arthure; secondly, that "neyther of the judges were competent, being both the king's sub-"jects; thirdly, that she ne had ne myght have within this realme "anye indifferent counsayle; finally that she had in Spaine two "bulles, the one being of latter dayte than the other, but bothe of "suche efficacye and strengthe as shulde sone remove all objections "and cavyllations."—Singer, 511. See note (K) at the end of the volume.

[2] During the trial (July 1), Henry procured letters patent from

The legates had been careful to prolong the trial, by repeated adjournments, till they reached that term, when the summer vacation commenced, according to the practice of the Rota. On the twenty-third of July they held the last session; the king attended in a neighbouring room, from which he could see and hear the proceedings; and his counsel in lofty terms called for the judgment of the court. But Campeggio replied; that judgment must be deferred till the whole of the proceedings had been laid before the pontiff; that he had come there to do justice, and no consideration should divert him from his duty. He was too old, and weak, and sickly to seek the favour, or fear the resentment of any man. The defendant had challenged him and his colleague as judges, because they were the subjects of her opponent. To avoid error, they had therefore determined to consult the Apostolic See, and for that purpose did then adjourn the court to the commencement of the next term, in the beginning of October. At these words, the duke of Suffolk, as had been preconcerted, striking the table, exclaimed with vehemence, that the old saw was now verified: "Never did cardinal bring "good to England!" Though Wolsey was aware of

Archbishop Warham, and the bishops of London, Rochester, Carlisle, Ely, Exeter, St. Asaph, Lincoln, and Bath and Wells, stating that the king having scruples concerning his marriage, had consulted them, the cardinal of York, and other divines, and having sent to them a book written by himself on the subject, had requested their counsel to remove his scruples, and establish the tranquillity of his mind, the health of his body, and the right of succession; wherefore they had come to the conclusion, that he was not uneasy without good and weighty reason, and that he ought in the first place to consult the judgment of the pope. 1 July, 1529.—Transcripts for N. Rym. 166. Assuredly he must have been disappointed by this lame and impotent conclusion.

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the danger, his spirit could not brook this insult. Rising with apparent calmness, he said, "Sir, of all "men living, you have least reason to dispraise cardi- "nals; for if I, a poor cardinal, had not been, you "would not at this present have had a head upon "your shoulders wherewith to make such a brag in "disrepute of us, who have meant you no harm, "and have given you no cause of offence. If you, "my lord, were the king's ambassador in foreign parts, "would you venture to decide on important matters "without first consulting your sovereign? We are "also commissioners, and cannot proceed to judgment "without the knowledge of him from whom our au- "thority proceeds. Therefore do we neither more "nor less than our commission alloweth; and if any "man will be offended with us, he is an unwise man. "Pacify yourself then, my lord, and speak not re- "proachfully of your best friend. You know what "friendship I have shown you; but this is the first "time I ever revealed it either to my own praise or "your dishonour." The court was now dissolved, and in less than a fortnight it was known that Clement had revoked the commission of the legates on the fifteenth of the same month.[1]

Henry seemed to bear the disappointment with a composure of mind which was unusual to him. But he had been prepared for the event by the conduct of the legates, and the despatches of his envoys; and the

[1] Cavendish, 434. Herbert, 278. The altercation between the duke and the cardinal has been rejected by some writers, because the presence of Suffolk is not mentioned in the register. But he may be included among "the duke of Norfolk, the bishop of "Ely, and others;" and it is improbable that a writer, who was present, should have invented or confirmed the account, if it had been false.

intelligence of the revocation was accompanied with a soothing and exculpatory letter from the pontiff. By the advice of Wolsey he resolved to conceal his real feelings, to procure the opinions of learned men in his favour, to effect the divorce by ecclesiastical authority within the realm, and then to confirm it by act of parliament. The bishop of Bayonne, who had unequivocally pronounced his opinion in its favour, was desired both by the king and the cardinal to return to France under the pretence of visiting his father, and solicit the approbation of the French universities.[1]

But Wolsey's good fortune had now abandoned him. At this moment, while Henry was still smarting under his recent disappointment, arrived from Rome an instrument, forbidding him to pursue his cause before the legates, and citing him to appear by attorney in the papal court under a penalty of 10,000 ducats. The whole process was one of mere form; but it revived the irritation of the king; he deemed it a personal insult, and insisted that Wolsey should devise some expedient to prevent it from being served on him, and from being made known to his subjects. This, after a tedious negotiation, was effected with the consent of the queen and her counsel.[2] But it was in vain that the cardinal laboured to recover the royal favour. The proofs of his disgrace became daily more manifest. He was suffered to remain the whole month of August at the Moore without an invitation to court; on matters of state his opinion was seldom asked, and then only by special messengers; even letters addressed to him were intercepted, opened

[1] Lettres de l'évêque de Bayonne, 339, 342, 355.
[2] State Pap. 336, 343, 6, 7.

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and perused by Henry. Still, amidst the misgivings of his own breast and the sinister predictions of his friends, he cherished the hope that some lucky chance might replace him on his former pre-eminence, and imprudently trusted to the hollow professions of men, who, though they had served him faithfully in prosperity, were ready to betray his confidence in his declining fortune.[1] But most he had reason to fear the arts of the woman who, the last year, so solemnly assured him that her gratitude should be commensurate with her life. It was not long since Anne had measured her influence with his, and had proved victorious. For some offence Wolsey had driven Sir Thomas Cheney from court. Cheney appealed to the king's mistress; and Henry reprimanded the cardinal and recalled the exile.[2] Now she openly avowed her hostility, and eagerly seconded the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and her father, the viscount Rochford,[3] in their united attempts to precipitate the downfall of the minister. They insinuated that he had never been in earnest in the prosecution of the divorce, and had uniformly sacrificed the interests of his sovereign to those of the king of France. In proof of the first charge they instanced his request to attend the congress at Cambray, instead of opening the commission; in proof of the second they alleged that during the war with France he had constantly corresponded with the lady regent, had accepted presents from her, and at her request had compelled the duke of Suffolk to retreat

[1] Je voy qu'il a fiance en aulcuns faits de sa main, lesquels je suis seur luy ont tourné la robe. Le pis est, qu'il ne l'entend pas. —L'évêque de Bayonne, 356.

[2] L'évêque de Bayonne, 291.

[3] Before the end of the year he was created earl of Ormond in Ireland, and his competitor, Sir Piers Butler, earl of Ossory.

from Mondidier, when he might have advanced and taken the city of Paris.[1] The willingness with which the king listened to these suggestions assured them of success; and over their cups they not only ventured to predict the ruin of Wolsey, but threatened to humble the pride of the churchmen, and to ease them of that load of wealth which encumbered the successors of the apostles.[2] Aware of their hostility, the cardinal rested all his hopes on the result of a personal interview; and, after many disappointments, was at last gratified.[3] He obtained permission to accompany Campeggio when that prelate took leave of the king at Grafton. The Italian was received by the officers of the court with the attention due to his rank; the fallen minister found to his surprise that, though an apartment had been ordered for his companion, none was provided for himself. He was introduced into the "presence." Every tongue foretold his disgrace—every eye watched his reception. To the general surprise, when he knelt, the king graciously raised him up with both hands, led him aside in a friendly manner, and conversed with him familiarly for a considerable time. The cardinal dined with the ministers; Henry with the lady Anne

Sept. 19.

[1] Ib. 372, 374. The charge of the presents seems to have been founded. Quant ausdits presens le cardinal espere que madame ne luy nuira pas, ou il en sera parlé; de toutes aultres choses il se recommande en sa bonne grace.—Ibid.

[2] La fantaisie de ces seigneurs est que, luy mort ou ruiné, ils deferrent incontinent icy l'estat de l'eglise, et prendront tous leurs biens . . . . Ils le crient en pleine table. Je croy qu'ils feront de beaux miracles (p. 374).

[3] One of his artifices was this. He pretended that he had a secret of immense importance to communicate, but of such a nature that he dared not trust it to any messenger. Henry replied that he might come to him at Woodstock, but insisted on knowing previously what was the purport of the communication.—State Pap. i. 344. From Cavendish and Alward (Ellis, i. 307) I infer that he did not avail, or was not suffered to avail himself of this permission.

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in her chamber; but after dinner he sent for Wolsey again, conducted him by the hand into his closet, and kept him in private conference till it was dark. At his departure—for he slept at a gentleman's house in the neighbourhood—he received a command to return on the following morning. Wolsey's enemies now trembled for their own safety; they were relieved from their apprehensions by the ascendancy of Anne Boleyn, who extorted from her lover a promise that he would never more speak to the cardinal.[1] When Wolsey returned in the morning the king was already on horseback, and having sent a message to him to attend the council, and then depart with Campeggio, rode out in the company of the lady Anne, and dined at Hartwell Park. After that day he and Wolsey never met each other.[2]

Sept. 20.

When the Michaelmas term came, the two cardinals separated. The Italian set out on his return to Rome, but met with an unexpected affront at Dover. The officers of the customs burst into his apartment, rifled his trunks, and charged him with being in possession of Wolsey's treasure. The charge was false; and it was thought that the real object of the search was to seize certain papers which it might be the king's interest to possess.[3] Nothing, however, was found; and

Oct. 1.

[1] We are indebted for this interesting narrative to Cavendish, who was present (438—444). The promise is added from the bishop of Bayonne's letter. Mademoiselle de Boulen a faict promettre à son amy, que il ne l'escoutera jamais parler (p. 375).

[2] Cavendish, 438—444. Le Grand, 375. According to Alward, the king did not ride till after dinner, when he dismissed Wolsey very graciously. I have preferred the narrative of Cavendish. Both were present; but though Alward's account was written immediately, there is this to detract from its credit, that it was written to enable Cromwell to contradict the report that Wolsey had left the king in disgrace.—Ibid. 310.

[3] Le Grand, iii. 369. These papers may have been the decretal

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 1529. Oct. 9.

Campeggio, after a strong remonstrance on his part, and an unmeaning apology on that of the officers, was suffered to set sail. A worse fate awaited his English colleague. On the very day on which Wolsey opened his court as chancellor, Hales, the attorney-general, filed two bills against him in the King's Bench, charging him with having, as legate, transgressed the statute of the 16th of Richard II., commonly called the Statute of Premunire. Nothing could be more iniquitous than this prosecution. It was doubtful whether the legatine court could be brought within the operation of the statute; it was certain that the cardinal had previously obtained the royal license, and was therefore authorized to hold it both by immemorial usage and the sanction of parliament.[1] This stroke, though it was not unexpected, plunged him into despair.[2] He knew the stern

bull, or letters from Wolsey to the pope, or Henry's letters to Anne Boleyn, which had come by some unknown means into the hands of Campeggio. But he had already sent the latter to Rome, where they may still be seen in the Vatican library, seventeen in number, but without dates. From internal evidence, however, we may conclude that the sixteenth was written about the end of 1527 or the beginning of 1528. Nos. 1, 4, 5, 8, preceded it, Nos. 3, 7, 12, 13, were written during the absence of Anne from court, that is from June 1 to the middle of August, 1528. Nos. 6, 14, 17, during her second absence in the same year in September, October, and November. Nos. 2, 9, 11, 15, are of very uncertain date; probably they belong to the more early period.

[1] See this History, vol. iii. p. 447.

[2] The reader may form an accurate notion of his present situation by the following extract from a letter written by an eye-witness, the bishop of Bayonne. "I have been to visit the cardinal in his dis-"tress, and have witnessed the most striking change of fortune. "He explained to me his hard case in the worst rhetoric that was "ever heard. Both his tongue and his heart failed him. He re-"commended himself to the pity of the king and Madame (Francis "and his mother) with sighs and tears; and at last left me without "having said any thing near so moving as his appearance. His face "is dwindled to one-half its natural size. In truth his misery is "such that his enemies, Englishmen as they are, cannot help pitying "him. Still they will carry things to extremities. As for his

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and irritable temper of his prosecutor; to have maintained his innocence would have been to exclude the hope of forgiveness; and there was moreover a "night-"crow," to use his own expression, that possessed the royal ear, and misrepresented the most harmless of his actions. On these accounts he submitted without a murmur to every demand; resigned the great seal into the hands of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk;[1] transferred to the king the whole of his personal estate, valued at 500,000 crowns, saying that, as he owed all to the bounty of his sovereign, so he restored all with pleasure to his benefactor;[2] and, when he found that Henry insisted on an entire and unconditional submission, granted to him, by indenture, the yearly profits of his benefices,[3] ordered his attorney to plead guilty to the indictment, and threw himself without reserve on the royal mercy.[4] It was now intimated to him that the king meant to reside at York-place during the parliament, and that he might retire to Esher, a seat belonging to his bishopric of Winchester. When he entered his barge, he was surprised to behold the river covered with boats and lined with spectators. Both the courtiers and the citizens had crowded together to behold his arrest and commitment to the Tower; but he disappointed their curiosity, landed at Putney, and, as he ascended the hill, was met by Norris, a groom of

Oct. 17.

Oct. 22.

Oct. 28.

"legation, the seals, his authority, &c., he thinks no more of them. "He is willing to give up every thing, even the shirt from his back, "and to live in a hermitage, if the king would but desist from his "displeasure."—Apud Le Grand, iii. 371.

[1] Henry sent a verbal order; he refused to obey without a written order. This was necessary for his own security.

[2] Le Grand, iii. 377, 9. Rym. iv. 375. State Papers, i. 355.

[3] Henry accepted the grant, but with a proviso that such acceptance should not prevent him from proceeding at law against the cardinal.—Transcripts for New Rymer, 167.

[4] Cavendish, 250.

the chamber, who brought him a secret but gracious message from Henry, not to despair, but to remember, that the king could at any time give him more than he had now taken away. The cardinal instantly alighted from his mule, sunk on his knees, and uttered a fervent prayer for the prosperity of his sovereign.[1]

This incident, which proved to Wolsey that his case was not yet hopeless, alarmed his opponents. They had gone too far to desist with safety; they must either complete his ruin, or submit to be afterwards the victims of his resentment. Hence they laboured to keep alive the royal displeasure against him. They represented him as an ungrateful favourite, who had sought nothing but his own interest and gratification; they attempted to show, from one of his letters which had fallen into their hands, that, whilst he pretended to promote, he had clandestinely opposed, the project of divorce; and they charged him with having maintained a secret correspondence with Madame Louise, with having received from her bribes in the shape of presents, and with having, in order to retain her favour, cramped and marred all the designs of the duke of Suffolk in the campaign of 1523.[2] Still the king's partiality for his former favourite seemed to be proof against all the representations of the council and the arts of his mistress. He continued to send to the cardinal from time to time consoling messages and tokens of affection, though it was generally by stealth, and sometimes during the night. When the court pronounced judgment against him, he took him under the royal protection; and when articles of impeachment, enumerating forty-four real or imaginary offences, and signed by fourteen peers and the law-

[1] Cavendish, 450. [2] Herbert, 123. Le Grand, iii. 374.

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 1529. Dec. 1.

officers of the crown, had been introduced into the house of Lords, and passed from it to the house of Commons,[1] he procured them to be thrown out by the agency of Cromwell, who from the service of the cardinal had risen to that of the king.[2] The French ambassador, unable to foresee what might be the issue of the struggle, advised his court to render to the fallen minister such good offices as, without giving cause of offence to the existing administration, might be gratefully remembered by Wolsey, if he should finally triumph over his enemies.[3]

Esher, though sufficiently stored with provisions, was a large, unfurnished house, where the cardinal and his numerous family found themselves destitute of most of the conveniences and comforts of life. There for three months he had leisure to meditate on the sad prospect before him. The comparison of his present with his past condition, the unmitigated hostility of his enemies,[4] and the delay in fulfilling any one of

[1] Fiddes, Collect. 172. The contents of this bill, which evidently contains whatever could be said against Wolsey by his bitterest enemies, may be considered as a presumptive proof of innocence. Burnet unaccountably takes for granted every charge in it, but he should have recollected that it was not only not proved, but actually rejected by the house of Commons. Wolsey says of its contents: "whereof a great part be untrue; and those, which be true, are of "such sort, that by the doing thereof no malice or untruth can be "arrected unto me, neither to the prince's person, nor to the realm." —Ibid. 207. State Papers, i. 354.

[2] Cavendish, 463. I ascribe its rejection to the king, from the character of Cromwell, and the general subserviency of the parliaments in this reign. Cromwell would not have dared to oppose the bill, nor the commons to reject it, had they not received an intimation that such was the royal pleasure.

[3] L'évêque de Bayonne, p. 380.

[4] He was extremely anxious to hear "yf the dyspleasure of my "lady Anne" (formerly she was mistress Anne) "be somewhat "asswaged, as I pray God the same may be." In that case she was "to be further labouryd." Her favour was "the onely help and

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 1529.

the conditions in his favour according to his compact with the two dukes,[1] filled him with the most gloomy apprehensions. The anguish of his mind rapidly consumed the vigour of his constitution. About Christmas he fell into a fever, which obstinately defied the powers of medicine. When Henry heard of his danger, he exclaimed, "God forbid that he should die. I would "not lose him for twenty thousand pounds." He immediately ordered three physicians to hasten to Esher; repeatedly assured the cardinal of his unabated attachment, and, no longer concealing his anxiety from Anne Boleyn, compelled her to send to the sick man a tablet of gold for a token of reconciliation.[2]

Dec. 18.

As the agitation of Wosley's mind subsided, the health of his body was restored; but his enemies had prepared for him a new conflict, and required of him additional sacrifices. The promises which had been made to him were still disregarded; the resolution of one day was recalled by that of the next; and the cardinal at last intrusted his interests to the discretion of Cromwell, who purchased a final settlement by the grant of annuities to the friends of the opposite party out of the bishopric of Winchester.[3] It was ultimately agreed that Wolsey should retain the administration, temporal as well as spiritual, of the archiepiscopal see of York,[4] but make over to the

1530. Feb. 7. Feb. 12. Feb. 18.

"remedy." For information on that head he looked to Sir Henry Norris.—State Papers, 352.

[1] Ibid.

[2] Cavendish, 471.

[3] These were the lord Sandis and his son Thomas, Sir William Fitzwilliam, Sir Henry Guilford, Sir John Russell, and Sir Henry Norris. Their pensions ought to have ceased at the death of the cardinal, who had only a life interest in the bishopric; but they were then settled on them for life by act of parliament.—Rolls, clxxxviii. St. 22 Hen. VIII. 22. State Papers, i. 355.

[4] Henry was so delighted with York-place (afterwards Whitehall), that he required Wolsey to make a transfer of it from the church to

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crown, for the term of his natural life, all the profits, all advowsons, and all nominations to offices, spiritual or secular, in his gift, as bishop of Winchester and abbot of St. Alban's, and that in return he should receive a general pardon, an annuity of one thousand marks from the bishopric of Winchester, and a release from all moneys due to the king for his maintenance since the day of his conviction.[1]

Feb. 2.

When he had assented to every demand, he was allowed to exchange Esher for Richmond, where he spent most of his time with the monks of the Charterhouse. Still his vicinity to the court alarmed the jealousy of his enemies; and a peremptory order to reside within his archbishopric drove him, notwithstanding his entreaties and remonstrances, to a distance of two hundred miles. Henry, to soften the

April 27.

rigour of his exile, had recommended him in the warmest terms to the attention of the northern nobility; and Wolsey by his conduct and generosity quickly won their esteem. His thoughts seemed entirely devoted to the spiritual and temporal concerns of his station. On every Sunday and holiday he rode

the crown. The cardinal objected that he was only tenant for life. But Shelley, a justice of the court of Common Pleas, came and informed him that it was the opinion of all the king's judges, and of all the counsel, "that his grace should recognize before a judge the right of "York-place to be in the king and his successors." He replied that he was ready to obey, "inasmuch," said he, "as ye, the fathers of the "laws, say that I may lawfully do it. Therefore I charge your "conscience, and discharge mine. Howbeit, I pray you, show his "majesty from me, that I most humbly desire his highness to call "to his most gracious remembrance that there is both heaven and "hell." He then executed the recognizance.—Singer's Cavend. i. 218. This formed a precedent for subsequent surrenders of church property to the crown.

[1] Rym. xiv. 365—376. Henry had supplied him with money to pay part of his debts, and with a quantity of plate, furniture, and provisions, valued at 6,374*l.* 3*s.* 7½*d.*

to some country church, celebrated mass in public, ordered one of his chaplains to preach to the people, and at the conclusion distributed alms to the poor. He made it his favourite employment to reconcile families at variance; a tedious and expensive office, as he frequently satisfied the injured or discontented party out of his own purse. Every gentleman in the county was welcome to his table, which was plentifully, though not extravagantly, supplied; and, in repairing the houses and buildings belonging to his see, he gave employment to three hundred workmen. The more he was known, the more he was beloved; the men, to whom in prosperity he had been an object of hatred, applauded his conduct under adversity; and even at court his name was occasionally whispered with feelings of approbation. But the fear of offending Anne imposed silence on his friends; and his enemies were careful to paint all his actions to the king in false and odious colours.[1]

The cardinal had invited the nobility of the county to assist at his installation on the 7th of November; on the 4th he was unexpectedly arrested at Cawood on a charge of high treason. What was the particular crime alleged against him, we know not; but the king asserted that his very servants had accused him of practising against the government both within and without the realm; and it is probable that the suspicion of Henry was awakened by the correspondence of the cardinal with the pope and the king of France.[2] Wolsey betrayed no symptoms of guilt;

Nov. 4.

[1] These particulars appear from the extracts of Cromwell's letters to Wolsey at this period, in Fiddes, Collect. p. 208, 209.

[2] If we may believe Cavendish, he wrote to them, to reconcile him with Henry.—Cav. Poem, 536. Mi disse el re, che contro de S. M. el machinava nel regno e fuori, e m'a detto dove et come, e che un'

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the king had not, he maintained, a more loyal subject than himself; there lived not on earth the man who could look him in the face and charge him with untruth; nor did he seek any other favour than to be confronted with his accusers.[1]

His health (he suffered much from the dropsy) would not allow him to travel with expedition; and

Nov. 10. at Sheffield Park, a seat of the earl of Shrewsbury, he

Nov. 24. was seized with a dysentery which confined him a fortnight. As soon as he was able to mount his mule

Nov. 26. he resumed his journey; but feeling his strength rapidly decline, he said to the abbot of Leicester, as he entered the gate of the monastery, "Father abbot, "I am come to lay my bones among you." He was immediately carried to his bed; and the second day, seeing Kyngston, the lieutenant of the tower, in his chamber, he addressed him in these well-known words: "Master Kyngston, I pray you have me com- "mended to his majesty; and beseech him on my "behalf to call to mind all things that have passed "between us, especially respecting good Queen Cathe- "rine and himself; and then shall his grace's con- "science know whether I have offended him or not. "He is a prince of most royal courage; rather than "miss any part of his will, he will endanger one half

e forsi piu dun' de suoi servitori l'hanno e scoperto ed accusato. —Joacchino apud Le Grand, iii. 529. Nov. 10. The king took great pains to convince Joacchino that *he* was not suspected of being an accomplice; the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk even swore that he was not. Hence I think it probable that the cardinal's letters passed through his hands.

[1] It is most improbable that the cardinal could have committed any act of treason since his pardon in February; and a man must be credulous indeed, to believe it on the mere testimony of the despatches sent by his enemies to ambassadors abroad. Such despatches with general charges were always sent on similar occasions to justify the government in the eyes of foreign princes.

"of his kingdom; and I do assure you, I have often "kneeled before him, sometimes for three hours together, to persuade him from his appetite, and could "not prevail. And, Master Kyngston, had I but served "God as diligently as I have served the king, he "would not have given me over in my grey hairs. "But this is my just reward for my pains and study, "not regarding my service to God, but only my duty "to my prince."[1] Having received the last consolations of religion, he expired the next morning, in the sixtieth year of his age. The best eulogy on his character is to be found in the contrast between the conduct of Henry before, and after the cardinal's fall. As long as Wolsey continued in favour, the royal passions were confined within certain bounds; the moment his influence was extinguished, they burst through every restraint, and by their caprice and violence alarmed his subjects and astonished the other nations of Europe.

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 1530. Nov. 29.

The eventful history of this great minister has led us into the autumn of the year succeeding his disgrace; it will be necessary to revert to that event, and to notice the changes occasioned by his removal from the royal councils. The duke of Norfolk became president of the cabinet; the duke of Suffolk, earl marshall, and the viscount Rochford, soon afterwards created earl of Wiltshire, retained their former places. To appoint a successor to Wolsey in the Chancery was an object of great importance. If Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, was proposed, he was rejected

1529.

[1] Cavendish, 513—535. In the printed editions it is asserted that the cardinal poisoned himself, but Dr. Wordsworth has shown that it was an interpolation. The passage is not in the manuscript copies.—Ibid., also Singer's Cavendish, 377.

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on the ground of his being a churchman;[1] and the office was at length given to Sir Thomas More, the treasurer of the household, and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. Sir William Fitzwilliam succeeded More; and Dr. Stephen Gardiner was made secretary to the king, who believed him to have inherited the abilities of the cardinal, and would have raised him perhaps to equal power, could he have been induced to relinquish his profession as a churchman.[2] These six formed the privy council; but, if we may believe the account given by the French ambassador to his court, Anne Boleyn was the real minister, who through her uncle and father ruled in the cabinet, and by the influence of her charms exercised the most despotic sway over the heart and mind of her lover.[3]

It may justly excite surprise that More should accept this dangerous office. With a delicate conscience and a strong sense of duty, he was not a fit associate for less timorous colleagues; the difficulties, which in the course of two years compelled him to retire from court, must even now have stared him in the face; and it was still in his power to avoid, but uncertain if he could weather the storm. As a scholar he was celebrated in every part of Europe, and as a lawyer he had long practised with applause and success.

[1] Erasmus (Ep. p. 1347) says that Warham refused the office. I rather believe the bishop of Bayonne, who, only three days before More accepted it, says that it would not be given to a churchman. On ne scait encore qui aura le sceau. Je croy bien que les prestres n'y toucheront plus, et que à ce parlement ils auront de terribles alarmes.—Oct. 22, p. 378.

[2] Il sera fort avant au maniement des affaires, principalement s'il veult jetter le froc aux horties.—Bayonne, p. 378.

[3] Le duc de Norfok est faict chef de ce counseil, et en son absence celuy de Souffock, et par dessus tout mademoiselle Anne.—Id. p. 377, 380, 384. See note (L).

From the office of under-sheriff or common serjeant Henry had called him to court, had employed him in different embassies, and had rewarded him with the lucrative preferments which have already been mentioned. The merit of More was universally acknowledged; even Wolsey declared that he knew no one more worthy to be his successor; but there were few instances in which the seals had been intrusted to any but dignified churchmen, none in which they had been given to a simple knight. On this account he was accompanied to the Star Chamber by a crowd of bishops and noblemen; and the duke of Norfolk conducted him to his seat, pronounced an eulogium on his talents and virtues, and observed that, if in this instance the king had departed from ancient precedent, he was fully justified by the superior merit of the new chancellor. More in return professed his obligation to the king and to the duke; and at the same time paid an eloquent compliment to the abilities of his predecessor, whose example would stimulate him to the faithful discharge of his duty, and whose fall would teach him to moderate his ambition.[1]

Oct. 26.

For some time a rumour had prevailed that a great stroke was meditated against the wealth or the immunities of the church. When the parliament assembled, three bills respecting mortuaries, the probate of wills, and the plurality of benefices, were passed in the lower house; but in the house of Lords the bishops and abbots offered so vigorous an opposition, that the most obnoxious clauses were either modified or expunged. Of those which remained, two deserve the notice of the reader, as being the first which in this

Nov. 3

[1] Rym. xiv. 350. Stapleton, Vit. Mori, 173—177. See More's character in Pole, fol. xc. xci.

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 1529.

reign were enacted in opposition to the papal authority. By these every clergyman, who had obtained in the court of Rome or elsewhere a license of non-residence on his cure, or a dispensation to hold more benefices than the statute allowed, became liable, in the first case, to a penalty of twenty pounds; and in the second, to a penalty of seventy pounds, and the forfeiture of the profits arising from such benefices.[1] At the same time the new administration introduced a bill to release the king from the payment of any loans of money which might have been made to him by his subjects. It passed through the upper house with few observations; in the lower the opposition was obstinate; but a majority had been previously secured by the introduction of members who held offices either under the king or his ministers. By the nation this iniquitous act was loudly condemned. Six years had elapsed since the loans were made; and in many instances the securities had passed by sale or gift or bequest from the hands of the original creditors into those of others. To justify the measure, it was contended in the preamble of the bill, that the prosperity of the nation under the king's paternal care called on his subjects to display their gratitude by cancelling his debts; a pretext which, if true, reflected the highest credit on the administration of Wolsey; if false, ought to have covered his successors with disgrace.[2]

[1] The lower house of convocation complained, but in vain, of these statutes, because the clergy had neither given their assent to them, nor been asked for their advice. (Ad quæ facienda nec consenserunt per se, nec per procuratores suos, neque super iisdem consulti fuerunt.—Collier, ii. Records, xxviii.) This was certainly the constitutional language of former times; but it was so long since it had been used, that it was disregarded by the king.

Rolls, cxliii. Burnet, i. Rec. 82. A similar grant was made by the clergy (Wilk. Con. iii. 717).

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 1529. October

I have already noticed the reconciliation between the courts of Rome and Madrid. It was followed by an interview between Charles and Clement at Bologna, where during four months they both resided under the same roof. To Henry this meeting seemed to present a favourable opportunity of proceeding with the divorce; and, as he had hitherto employed clerical negotiators without success, he now intrusted the charge to a lay nobleman, the father of his mistress. By most men the earl of Wiltshire was deemed an objectionable agent; but Henry justified his choice by the observation, that no one could be more interested in the event of the mission than the man whose daughter would reap the fruit of it.[1] To the earl, however, were joined three colleagues, Stokesley, bishop elect of London, Lee, the king's almoner, and Bennet, doctor of laws; and these were accompanied by a council of divines, among whom was Thomas Cranmer, a clergyman attached to the Boleyn family, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. They were furnished with powers to treat of a general confederacy against the Turks, and with instructions to offer to the pope a considerable present, to warn him against the ambitious projects and treacherous friendship of Charles, and to exhort him to do justice to a prince who was the firmest support of the see of Rome. The negotiation with the emperor was intrusted to the dexterity of the earl of Wiltshire, who was ordered to address that prince in the French language, stating the grounds on which Henry demanded the divorce,

1530. Jan. 21.

[1] A letter of Joacchino apud Le Grand, iii. 408. Anne Boleyn's father had been created earl of Wiltshire with remainder to his heirs male, and earl of Ormond in Ireland with remainder to his heirs general, on the 8th of December, 1529.

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 1530.

and adroitly intermingling with those grounds hints of the great power of the English king, of the benefits which might be derived from his friendship, and of the evils which might spring from his enmity. If this discourse made no favourable impression, the ambassadors were to return; and the earl, when he took leave, was to observe that, if Henry had consulted Charles, it was only through courtesy; and that he would follow his own judgment, and not submit to the arbitration of the pope, against whose authority he had many good grounds of exception.[1] With his confidants the king spoke of this as of his last attempt; if it failed, he would withdraw himself from the obedience of Clement as of a pontiff unfit for his station through ignorance, incapable of holding it through simony; and that he might have no occasion to recur to the Papal See in beneficiary matters, he would establish a bishop with patriarchal powers within his own dominions, an example which he had no doubt would be eagerly followed by every sovereign in Europe.[2]

Among the many causes of solicitude which preyed on the mind of Clement, the divorce of Henry was one of the most perplexing. He had indulged a hope that, after the revocation of the commission, the cardinal would have pronounced judgment in virtue of his ordinary powers, and the king would have proceeded to a second marriage without asking the papal consent, or interfering with the papal authority.[3] With

[1] See these instructions among the transcripts for the N. Rymer, 168.

[2] Letters of Joacchino apud Le Grand, iii. p. 409, 418.

[3] A ce qu'il m'en a declaré des fois plus de trois en secret, il seroit content que le dit mariage fust jà faict ou par dispense du legat d'Angleterre ou autrement, mais que ce ne fust par son auctorité, ny

CHAP VIII. A.D. 1530. March 7.

this view he had declined for nine months the cognizance of the cause; but at length, unable to resist the personal application of Charles, he signed a breve, forbidding Henry to marry before the publication of his sentence, and enjoining him in the meanwhile to treat Catherine as his lawful wife.[1]

Within a few days the ambassadors arrived; and their arrival furnished him with a specious reason for suspending the operation of the breve. He received them graciously, and gave them his word, that he would do in favour of Henry whatever his conscience would permit. But when they were introduced to Charles, that prince did not conceal his feelings at the sight of the father of her who was the rival of his aunt. "Stop, sir," said the emperor, "allow your "colleagues to speak. You are a party in the cause." The earl replied with firmness, that he did not stand there as a father defending the interests of his child, but as a minister representing the person of his sovereign; that if Charles would acquiesce in the royal wish, Henry would rejoice; if he did not, the imperial disapprobation should never prevent the king of England from demanding and obtaining justice. As the price of his consent, the ambassadors offered him the sum of three hundred thousand crowns, the restoration of the marriage portion paid with Catherine, and security for a maintenance suitable to her birth during life. But he replied, that he was not a merchant to sell the honour of his aunt. The cause

aussi diminuant sa puissance.—Lettre de l'évêque de Tarbes, à Bologna, 27 Mars, apud Le Grand, iii. 400.

[1] Le Grand, iii. 446. He had previously communicated the case with the writings in favour of Henry to the celebrated Cajetan, whose answer may be seen in Raynaldus, xxxii. 196. It was adverse to the king.

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was now before the proper tribunal. If the pope should decide against her, he would be silent; if in her favour, he would support her cause with all the means which God had placed at his disposal.[1]

The new ministers condescended to profit by the advice of the man whom they had supplanted, and sought, in conformity with his recommendation, to obtain in favour of the divorce the opinions of the most learned divines, and most celebrated universities in Europe. Henry pursued the scheme with his characteristic ardour; but, if he was before convinced of the justice of his cause, that conviction must have been shaken by the obstinacy of the opposition which he everywhere experienced. In England it might have been expected that the influence of the crown would silence the partisans of Catherine; yet even in England it was found necessary to employ commands, and promises, and threats, sometimes secret intrigue, and sometimes open violence, before a favourable answer could be extorted from either of the universities.[2]

In Italy the king's agents were active and numerous; their success and their failures were perhaps nearly balanced; but the former was emblazoned to catch the eye of the public, while the latter were discreetly concealed. From the pontiff they had procured a breve, exhorting every man to speak his sentiments without fear or favour; and taking their respective stations in the principal cities from Venice to Rome, they distributed, according to their discretion, the moneys which had been remitted to them

[1] These particulars are extracted from letters written from Bologna by the bishop of Tarbes on the 27th and 28th of March.—Le Grand, iii. 401 454.

[2] On the subscriptions of the universities, see note (M).

from Henry; in return for which they forwarded to him the real or pretended answers of the universities of Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara, and the subscriptions of some hundreds of individuals.

In Germany the king's agents derived little benefit either from the Catholics or the Reformers. Luther and Melancthon openly condemned his plan of a divorce, but were willing to indulge him with power to contract a second marriage, pending the life of his first wife, after the practice of the ancient patriarchs.[1] This novel doctrine some months later found an advocate even in Rome. A grave divine—who he was, or at whose instigation he acted, we know not—advised the pontiff to issue a dispensation, empowering the king to marry a second wife. So much Clement communicated to Henry's agents. There was something in his manner, so reserved and unusual, that it awakened suspicion. But he eluded every attempt to draw from him further explication; and some days later informed them, that his council had considered the question, and had determined, that it was not in his power to grant any such dispensation.[2]

[1] Lutheri Epist. p. 290. Halæ, 1717. Melan. Ep. ad Camer. p. 20.

[2] On this subject we have two original documents. One is a letter from Greg. da Casale to Henry, dated Sept. 18. He states that the pope had proposed to him that the king might have two wives; but that he (Casale) for certain reasons refused to write to his majesty on the subject.—Herbert, 300. He did write, nevertheless, and that too, separately, without the privity of his colleagues. It is plain that on this man and his letter but little reliance can be placed. Mr. Hallam, however, seems to infer from it that Clement offered to Henry a dispensation to *retain* two wives, an offer which would once have been gladly accepted, but which came too late, when Henry was exasperated against Catherine, and was little inclined to treat her or the Holy See with respect.—Constit. History, i. 92. But this ingenious comment is disposed of at once by a letter from Dr. Bennet, the English agent, dated Oct. 27, which Mr. Hallam had

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Foiled in Germany, the king rested his hopes on France and her fourteen universities; but when he claimed the assistance of his French brother, that prince artfully replied that he dared not provoke the resentment of the emperor, till he had paid two millions of crowns, the ransom of his sons, who were detained as hostages in Spain. The impatience of Henry swallowed the bait. He advanced to Francis four hundred thousand crowns as a loan, postponed for an unlimited period the payment of five hundred thousand already due to him from that monarch, and sent to him the "lily of diamonds," which Charles and Maximilian had formerly pawned to Henry VII. for the sum of fifty thousand crowns.[1] In due course of time the princes were liberated, and Francis, now his own master, displayed his gratitude to Henry by labouring to procure from the faculty of theology in Paris an answer in favour of the divorce. But the opposition was numerous and obstinate, and the contest between the crown and the faculty lasted for several months, till a spurious decree was fabricated by order of Francis, and was afterwards published by Henry as the real decision of the university of Paris.

not seen. The original is in the possession of Mr. Tierney, who has copied it with other valuable papers in his edition of Dodd's Church History, i. App. 394. Bennet states that soon after his arrival the pope moved him of two wives for his majesty, but so doubtingly, that the agent thought he had some political object in view. Having expressed his own conjectures, he proceeds thus:—"Then I axed his "holynes whether he was fully resolved that he myght dyspence yn "the same case. Then his holynes schewed me no..... How be "yt, he seyd he woold councel farder upon hyt with hys councel. "And, now of late, the pope schewed me that hys councel schewed "hym playnly that he cowld not do yt." It is evident the proposal was not made in earnest.

[1] Rymer, xiii. 234, 239; xiv. 328, 358, 360—364, 378—384. Le Grand, iii. 428—446.

From Orleans and Toulouse, from the theologians of Bourges, and the civilians of Angers, similar opinions were received; but the theologians of the last city pronounced in favour of the existing marriage.[1] The other universities were not consulted, or their answers were suppressed.

It had been originally intended to lay before the pontiff this mass of opinions and subscriptions, as the united voice of the Christian world pronouncing in favour of the divorce.[2] But Clement knew (and Henry was aware that he knew) the arts by which they had been purchased or extorted;[3] and both were sensible, that, independently of other considerations, they did not reach the real merits of the questions; for all of them were founded on the supposition that the marriage between Arthur and Catherine had actually been consummated, a disputed point which the king was unable to prove, and which the queen most solemnly denied. In the place of these opinions it was deemed more prudent to substitute a letter to the pope, subscribed by the lords spiritual and temporal, and by a certain number of commoners, in the name of the whole nation. This instrument complains in forcible terms of Clement's partiality and tergiversation. What crime had the king of England committed that he could not obtain what the most learned men, and the most celebrated universities declared to be his right? The kingdom was threatened with the calamities of a disputed succession, which could be averted only by a lawful marriage; and yet the celebration of

July 30.

[1] Apud Le Grand, iii. 507.

[2] Despatch of Joacchino, Feb. 15, p. 443.

[3] Nullo non astu et prece et pretio.—Epis. Clementis apud Raynad. p. 647.

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that marriage was prevented by the affected delays and unjust partiality of the pontiff. Nothing remained, but to apply the remedy without his interference. It might be an evil; but it would prove a less evil, than the precarious and perilous situation in which England was now placed.[1]

Sept. 27.

To this uncourteous and menacing remonstrance, Clement replied with temper and firmness; that the charge of partiality would have come with more truth and a better grace from the opposite party; that he had pushed his indulgence for the king beyond the bounds of law and equity, and had refused to act on the queen's appeal, till the whole college of cardinals unanimously charged him with injustice; that, if he had not since proceeded with his cause, it was because Henry had appointed no attorney to plead for him, and because his ambassadors at Bologna had asked for additional time; that the opinions which they mentioned had never been officially communicated to the Holy See, nor did he know of any, which were fortified with reasons and authorities to inform his judgment; that if England were really threatened with a disputed succession, the danger would not be removed, but augmented, by proceedings contrary to right and justice; that if lawless remedies were employed, those with whom they originated must answer for the result; that, in short, he was ready to proceed with the cause immediately, and to show to the king every indulgence and favour compatible with justice; one thing only he begged in return, that they would not require of him, through gratitude to man, to violate the immutable commandments of God.[2]

[1] Herbert, 331.

[2] Id. 335. With the remonstrance Henry sent a letter from him-

Dr. Bennet, when the earl of Wiltshire with his colleagues left Bologna, had remained behind in quality of resident ambassador with the emperor. But he was soon ordered to follow Clement to Rome, where he was joined by the bishop of Tarbes, now created a cardinal, and empowered to act as envoy from the king of France on the behalf of Henry. They were instructed to propose the following expedients to the pontiff. They requested him to appoint a court of three English bishops, or, if there existed any objection to the bishops, to convert the convocation of the province of Canterbury into a court, with full power to hear and determine the cause of the divorce without reserve or appeal. He replied that, in as far as regarded himself, he would readily appoint such a court, but that he could not do it in justice nor according to law, without the consent of the queen, who had already commenced proceedings both in the court of the Signature, and in the Consistory. It was then asked whether, on the supposition that Henry should make use of such remedies as in his conscience he thought lawful, Clement would bind himself to remain

self complaining of the treatment which he had received. He mentions the commission, the promise not to revoke it, the decretal bull which was burnt, and then adds, "if your holiness did grant us "all these things justly, ye did unjustly revoke them; if there were "no deceit or fraud in the revocation, then how wrongfully and "subtlely have been done all those things that have been done."—Burnet. i. Rec. 42. The date should be Aug. 1530. We are not acquainted with Clement's answer. With respect to the bull, he could only acknowledge his own weakness in suffering it to be extorted from him by the entreaties of Wolsey and the agents. But to the other part of the complaint, when it was urged by Bonner, he replied; that "if the queen had not given an oath quod non sperabat consequi "justitiæ complementum in partibus, he would not have advoked the "matter at all; but seeing she gave that oath, and refused the judges "as suspect, appealing also to his court, he said he might and ought "to hear her, his promise made to your highness, which was qualified, "notwithstanding."—Burnet, iii. Rec. 40.

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passive, and refuse to interfere, at the request of Catherine; a question to which he returned an indignant answer, as if he looked upon it as an insult.

They insisted on the evils to the church which might ensue from the displeasure of two such powerful monarchs, but he replied, "that if such inconvenience should "follow, he had lever it should follow for doing his duty, "than the like should follow for lack of not doing it." There now remained but one resource, to request that he would stay the proceedings in the Roman courts, for the purpose of gaining time for an amicable compromise between the parties. To this he consented; but for three weeks only,[1] and the cardinal and Bennet wrote to Henry,[2] detailing these particulars, and informing him

[1] Raince au Grand Maistre, apud Le Grand, iii. 523.

[2] Soon after Bennet's arrival, Clement in conversation dropped some remark about a dispensation for two wives. The envoy, unable to discover the object of the pontiff in introducing this subject, resolved not to commit himself by any remark of his own. His words are, "Syre, schortly after my cumyng hether, the pope movyd "unto me of a dispensation for two wyffis, whyche he spake at the "same tyme so dowgtfully, that I suspectyd that he spake yt for oon "of the too purposis; the oon was, that I schuld have sette yt fore-"ward to your hyghnes, to thentent, that, yff your hyghnes woold "have acceptyd hyt, therby he schuld have goten a mean to bryng "your hyghnes to graunt, that, yff he myght dispense yn thys case, "whyche ys of no lesse force then your case ys, consequently he "myght dyspense yn your hyghnes' case. The other was, that I "conjectured that yt schuld be a thyng purposyd to enterteygne "your hyghnes yn summe hope, wherby he myght differ your cawse, "to thentent your grace schuld trust apon the same. Then I axed "hys holynes whether he was fully resolved that he myght dyspense "yn the same case? Then hys holynes schewed me no: but seyd "that a great dyvine schewed him that he thowght, for avoydyng of "a gretter inconvenience, hys holynes myght dyspense yn the same "case: how be yt, he seyd he woold councel farder apon hyt with "hys councel. And now, of late, the pope schewed me that hys "councel schewed hym playnly that he cowd not do yt."—Tierney's Dodd, i. p. 394, from the original despatch in Mr. Tierney's possession. It was written Oct. 27, 1530; and the preceding extract i valuable, as it fully explains in what sense a similar proposal was made about the same time to Cassali—if it ever was made to him; for Cassali catered for both parties,—according to his letter of

that Clement, though he interposed every obstacle in his power, would soon be compelled, through the urgent solicitations of the imperialists, to issue an inhibitory breve, forbidding all archbishops or bishops, courts or tribunals, to give judgment in the matrimonial cause against Catherine. It was observed that he became more pensive than usual. All his expedients were exhausted; he saw that he could neither remove the opposition of the emperor, nor obtain the consent of the pontiff; and found that after so many attempts he was involved in greater difficulties than before. He began to waver; and observed to his confidants that he had been grossly deceived; he should never have sought a divorce, had he not been assured that the papal approbation might be easily obtained; that assurance had proved false; and he would now abandon the attempt for ever.[1] These words were soon whispered from one to another; they quickly reached the ear of Anne Boleyn; and dismay was painted on the countenances of the mistress and her advocates, of the ministers and their adherents. Their ruin was confidently foretold; they were rescued from danger by the boldness and ingenuity of Cromwell.

The subsequent elevation of Cromwell to the highest honours in the state reflects an interest on the more

Sept. 18, published by Herbert. Cassali says that he refused to commit himself by his answer, because he knew that the question had been suggested to Clement by the imperialists for some hostile purpose. The comparison of this letter with Bennet's despatch proves that there was no such intention on the part of the pontiff, and that the hint was thrown out for some political object.—See Tierney's Dodd, i. p. 207, note.

[1] Pole had this account from one of those to whom the king had disclosed his sentiments. Mihi referebat qui audivit.—Apolog. ad Carol. V. Cæs. 127.

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obscure portion of his private life. His father was a fuller in the neighbourhood of the capital. The son in his early youth served as a trooper in the wars of Italy; from the army he passed to the service of a Venetian merchant; and after some time, returning to England, exchanged the counter for the study of the law. Wolsey had employed him to dissolve the monasteries which had been granted for the establishment of his colleges, a trust which he discharged to the satisfaction of his patron, at the same time that he enriched himself. His principles, however, if we may believe his own assertions, were of the most flagitious description. He had learned from Machiavelli that vice and virtue were but names, fit indeed to amuse the leisure of the learned in their colleges, but pernicious to the man who seeks to rise in the courts of princes. The great art of the politician was, in his judgment, to penetrate through the disguise which sovereigns are accustomed to throw over their real inclinations, and to devise the most specious expedients by which they may gratify their appetites without appearing to outrage morality or religion.[1] By acting on these principles he had already earned the hatred of the public; and, when his patron was disgraced, was singled out for punishment by the voice of the populace. He followed Wolsey to Esher; but despairing of the fortune of the fallen favourite, hastened to court, purchased with presents the protection of the ministers, and was confirmed in that office under the king, which he had before held under the cardinal,—

[1] Pole relates that he received these lessons from the mouth of Cromwell himself in Wolsey's palace.—Pole, 133—136. See also Pole's discourse with John Legh on Machiavelli, MS. Cleop. E. vi. 281.

the stewardship of the lands of the dissolved monasteries.[1]

The day after the king's intention had transpired, Cromwell, who, to use his own words, was determined to "make or mar,"[2] solicited and obtained an audience. He felt, he said, his own inability to give advice; but neither affection nor duty would suffer him to be silent, when he beheld the anxiety of his sovereign. It might be presumption in him to judge; but he thought the king's difficulties arose from the timidity of his counsellors, who were led astray by outward appearances, and by the opinions of the vulgar. The learned, and the universities had pronounced in favour of the divorce. Nothing was wanting but the approbation of the pope. That approbation might indeed be useful to check the resentment of the emperor; but, if it could not be obtained, was Henry to forego his right? Let him rather imitate the princes of Germany, who had thrown off the yoke of Rome; let him, with the authority of parliament, declare himself the head of the church within his own realm. At present England was a monster with two heads. But were the king to take into his own hands the authority now usurped by the pontiff, every anomaly would be rectified; the present difficulties would vanish; and the churchmen, sensible that their lives and fortunes were at his disposal, would become the obsequious ministers of his will. Henry listened with surprise and pleasure to a discourse which flattered not only his passion for Anne Boleyn, but his thirst of wealth

[1] Omnium voce, qui aliquid de eo intellexerant, ad supplicium poscebatur. Hoc enim affirmare possum, qui Londini tum adfui, et voces audivi. Nec vero populus ullum spectaculum libentius expectabat.—Pole, 127.

[2] Cavendish, 453.

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and greediness of power. He thanked Cromwell, and ordered him to be sworn of his privy council.[1]

It was evident that the adoption of this title would experience considerable opposition from the clergy; but the cunning of Cromwell had already organized a plan which promised to secure their submission. The reader may have observed in a preceding volume, that when the statutes of premunire were passed, a power was given to the sovereign to modify or suspend their operation at his discretion; and from that time it had been customary for the king to grant letters of license or protection to particular individuals, who meant to act or had already acted against the letter of these statutes. Hence Wolsey had been careful to obtain a patent under the great seal, authorizing him to exercise the legatine authority; nor did any person during fifteen years presume to accuse him of violating the law. When, however, he was indicted for the supposed offence, he refused to plead the royal permission, and through motives of prudence suffered judgment to pass against him. Now, on the ground of his conviction, it was argued that all the clergy were liable to the same penalty, because by admitting his jurisdiction, they had become, in the language of the statute, his fautors and abettors; and the attorney-general was instructed to file an information against the whole body in the court of King's Bench. The convocation hastily assembled, and offered a present of one hundred thousand pounds in return

1531. Feb. 7.

[1] Pole, 118—122. This is not a supposititious discourse. He says of it: Hoc possum affirmare nihil in illa oratione positum alicujus momenti, quod non vel ab eodem nuncio (Cromwell himself) eo narrante intellexi, vel ab illis, qui ejus consilii fuerunt participes (p. 123).

for a full pardon. To their grief and astonishment, Henry refused the proposal, unless in the preamble to the grant a clause were introduced, acknowledging the king "to be the protector and only supreme head "of the church and clergy of England." Three days were consumed in useless consultation; conferences were held with Cromwell and the royal commissioners; expedients were proposed and rejected; and a positive message was sent by the viscount Rochford, that the king would admit of no other alteration than the addition of the words "under God." What induced him to relent is unknown; but an amendment was moved with his permission by Archbishop Warham, and carried with the unanimous consent of both houses.[1] By this the grant was made in the usual manner; but in the enumeration of the motives on which it was grounded was inserted within a parenthesis the following clause: "of which church and "clergy we acknowledge his majesty to be the chief "protector, the only and supreme lord, and, *as far as* "*the law of Christ will allow*, the supreme head."[2] The northern convocation adopted the same language, and voted for the same purpose a grant of eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds.[3] It is

Feb. 11.

March 2.

May 4

[1] Wilk. Con. ii. 725. The king had also demanded a recognition that it was by his protection that they were enabled inservire curæ animarum majestati ejus commissæ.—Ibid. This, however, was evaded, by the following amendment, inservire curæ *populi* majestati ejus *commissi*.—Ibid. 743.

[2] Ibid. 742. Burnet (i. 113) uses many arguments to show that Reginald Pole most probably concurred in this vote. But Pole himself reminds the king that, though he heard him refuse the grant without the title, he was not present when the convocation consented to give him the title.—Dum hæc statuerentur, non adfui (fol. xix. lxxxii).

[3] Wilk. Con. iii. 744. In consequence a pardon was granted.—Stat of Realm, iii. 334.

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plain that the introduction of the words, "as far as "the law of Christ will allow," served to invalidate the whole recognition; since those who might reject the king's supremacy could maintain that it was not allowed by the law of Christ. But Henry was yet wavering and irresolute; he sought to intimidate the court of Rome, but had not determined to separate from its communion; it was therefore thought sufficient to have made a beginning; the qualifying clause might be afterwards expunged, whenever the occasion required.[1]

Jan. 5. In the meanwhile the inhibitory brief had been signed by Clement, and published with the usual solemnity in Flanders.[2] That it might make the less impression on the minds of the people, the new chancellor, attended by twelve peers, went to the lower March 30. house; the answers of the universities were read; above a hundred papers, said to contain the opinions of theologians and canonists, were exhibited; and the members were exhorted, on their return to their homes, to acquaint their neighbours with the justice May 31. of the royal cause.[3] After the prorogation several lords were deputed to wait on the queen, and to request, that for the quiet of the king's conscience, she would refer the matter to the decision of four temporal and four spiritual peers. "God grant him a "quiet conscience," she replied; "but this shall be

[1] Tunstall, bishop of Durham, though he had received many favours from Henry, had the courage to protest against it. If the clause meant nothing more than that the king was head in temporals, why, he asked, did it not say so? If it meant that he was head in spirituals, it was contrary to the doctrine of the Catholic church, and he called on all present to witness his dissent from it, and to order the entry of his protest among the acts of the convocation.—Wilk. Con. iii. 745.

[2] Le Grand, iii. 531. [3] Hall, 196—199.

"your answer: I am his wife lawfully married to him "by order of holy church; and so I will abide until "the court of Rome, which was privy to the begin-"ning, shall have made thereof an end." A second deputation was sent with an order for her to leave the palace at Windsor. "Go where I may," she answered, "I shall still be his lawful wife." In obedience to the king, she repaired to Ampthill; where, if she was no longer treated as queen, she no longer witnessed the ascendancy of her rival.[1] July 14.

The bishoprics of York and Winchester, two of the most wealthy preferments in the English church, had remained vacant since the death of Wolsey, through the desire of Henry to bestow one of them on his kinsman, Reginald Pole. That young nobleman was the son of Sir Richard Pole, a Welsh knight, and of Margaret, countess of Salisbury, the daughter of George, duke of Clarence, who had been put to death by the order of his brother, Edward IV. Henry had taken on himself the charge of his education; and Reginald spent five years in the university of Padua where his birth and manners, his talents and industry, attracted the notice, and won the esteem of the first scholars in Italy. On his return to England, shunning the favours which his sovereign offered him, he retired to the house lately belonging to Dean Colet within the Carthusian monastery at Shene; and at the expiration of two years, that he might avoid the storm which he saw gathering, obtained the royal permission to pursue his theological studies in the university of Paris. But the peace of his asylum was soon invaded by an order from the king to procure, in conjunction with Langet, the brother of the bishop

[1] Hall, 200. Herb. 354.

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of Bayonne, opinions in favour of the divorce; a charge from the execution of which his conscience recoiled, and which, under the pretence of youth and inexperience, he resigned to the address of his colleague. Soon after his recall, he was told by the duke of Norfolk that the king had marked him out for the first dignities in the English church, but previously expected from him a faithful explanation of his opinion concerning the divorce. Pole frankly owned that he condemned it, but, by the advice of the duke, requested the respite of a month, that he might have leisure to study the question. After many debates with his brothers and kinsmen, and a long struggle with himself, he fancied that he had discovered an expedient, by which, without wounding his conscience, he might satisfy his sovereign. His conversion was announced to Henry, who received him most graciously in the gallery of Whitehall: but that moment Pole began to hesitate; he deemed it a crime to dissemble, and, in a faltering voice, ventured to disclose his real sentiments. The king heard him with looks and gestures of anger, interrupted his discourse with a volley of reproaches, and, turning on his heel, left him in tears. At his departure he was assailed with the remonstrances of Lord Montague and his other brothers, who complained that by his obstinacy he had ruined not only himself but also

June.

them. Moved by their complaints, he wrote to the king, lamenting his misfortune in dissenting from the opinion of his benefactor, and detailing with modesty the motives of his conduct. It was now thought that nothing could save him from the royal displeasure; Lord Montague waited on the king to deplore the infatuation of his brother; but Henry replied, "My

"lord, I cannot be offended with so dutiful and affec-
"tionate a letter. I love him in spite of his obsti-
"nacy; and, were he but of my opinion on this
"subject, I would love him better than any man in
"my kingdom."[1] Instead of withdrawing his pension of five hundred crowns, he allowed him again to leave England, and to prosecute his studies abroad. The See of York was given to Lee, who had accompanied the earl of Wiltshire to Bologna; that of Winchester to Gardiner, whose prospect of monopolizing the royal favour had been clouded by the growing influence of Cromwell. The new prelates, however, did not conceive that the recognition of the king's supremacy had enabled him to confer episcopal jurisdiction. They solicited institution from the pontiff; and Henry, as soon as the papal bulls arrived, issued the customary writs for the delivery of their temporalities.[2] Dec. 3.

By this time the imperialists had acquired a decided superiority at Rome; but their progress was checked by the obstacles which Clement's secret partiality for the king of England repeatedly threw in their way They prayed judgment against him, on the ground that he refused to plead; the pontiff, to elude the demand, requested Henry to appoint an agent with

[1] See Pole, Pro Eccles. Unit. Defen. fol. lxxviii. Apolog. ad Angliæ Parliam. Epistolarum, tom. i. p. 182. Ep. ad Edward. reg. iii. 327—332. Henry communicated this letter to Cranmer, who had now returned to England, and joined the Boleyn family at court. He gives the following account of it to his patron the earl of Wiltshire. "He hath wrytten wyth such wytte that it appereth "that he myght be for hys wysedome of the cownsel to the kynge "hys grace; and of such eloquence, that if it were set forth and "knowne to the common people, I suppose it were not possible to "persuade them to the contrary. The kynge and my lady Anne "rode yesterday to Windsower, and this nyght they be looked for "agayne at Hampton Courte. God be their guyde." June xiii.—Strype's Cranmer, App. No. i.

[2] Rym. xiv. 428, 429.

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the office of excusator, who might show cause for his absence. The king consented; but not till he had proposed two questions to the university of Orleans, the faculty of law at Paris, and the principal advocates in the parliament of that capital, who replied,— 1. That he was not obliged to appear at Rome, either in person or by his attorney, but that the cause ought to be heard in a safe place before delegates unobjectionable to either party; 2. That it was not necessary to furnish the excusator with powers for the performance of his office, because it was a duty which every subject owed to his sovereign, in the same manner as a child to his parent.[1] Sir Edward Carne was now sent, but with verbal instructions, and without powers in writing. If Clement was mortified with this omission, he was still more distressed when he received a letter from Catherine, announcing her formal expulsion from court, and praying the pontiff no longer to refuse her justice. In the most forcible but affectionate terms he wrote to the king, and painted the infamy which by his late conduct he had stamped on his own character. He had married a princess of distinguished virtue, and allied in blood to the first sovereign in Europe; and now, after the lapse of more than twenty years, he had ignominiously driven her from his court, to introduce in her place another woman with whom he publicly cohabited, and to whom he transferred the conjugal affection due to his wife. Let him recall his queen, and dismiss her rival. It was what he owed to himself; but Clement would receive it as a favour, the most signal favour, which Henry had ever conferred on the Apostolic See.[2]

June 22.

1532. Jan. 25.

[1] Rym. xiv. 416—423.

[2] Herbert, 360. Le Grand, iii. 561. The pontiff's expressions

But the time was past when the king sought to conciliate; his present object was intimidation, and with that purpose he had assembled the parliament. In a former volume I have noticed the origin of the annates or first-fruits, which were paid to the Roman see from most nations in Europe, and formed the chief fund for the support of the cardinals in attendance on the pontiff. An act was passed for the abolition of this ecclesiastical impost. In the preamble it was stated that the annates had been originally established for the defence of Christendom against the infidels; that they had been insensibly augmented, till they became a constant drain on the wealth of the nation;[1] and that it was necessary to provide an immediate remedy before the decease of the present bishops, of whom many were far advanced in years. It was therefore enacted that, if any prelate hereafter should presume to pay first-fruits to the see of Rome, he should forfeit his personalities to the king, and the profits of his see as long as he held it; that if, in consequence of the omission, the necessary bulls were refused, he should nevertheless be consecrated by the archbishop, or two other bishops, as was usual in ancient times; and that if on such account, any censures or interdicts were issued by the pope, they should be utterly disregarded. It was not, however, that Henry sought to save the money, for he would eagerly have purchased the divorce with more costly sacrifices; nor that he wished to proceed

admit not of a doubt as to the character which he had received of Anne Boleyn. Loco autem ejus quandam Annam in tuum contubernium et cohabitationem recepisse, eique maritalem affectum uxori tuæ debitum exhibere.—Ibid.

[1] The amount was estimated at 4,000*l.* per annum, on an average of many years.

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 1532.

to an open rupture with the court of Rome, for he still held out hopes of a reconciliation. But his real object was to influence the resolves of the pontiff by considerations of interest. Hence the rigour of the act was mitigated by the following provisions: 1. That for the expediting of his bulls, each bishop might lawfully pay fees after the rate of five per cent. on the amount of his yearly income; and 2. That (in order to come to an amicable composition with the pope) it should be at the option of the king to suspend or modify, to annul or enforce, the present statute by his letters patent, which in this instance should have the force of law.[1]

At the same time Cromwell ventured to proceed a step further in the prosecution of his plan for annexing to the crown the supreme jurisdiction in ecclesiastical concerns. An address was procured from the house of Commons, complaining that the convocations of the clergy, without consulting the other estates, often enacted laws which regarded temporal matters, and which, though contrary to the statutes of the realm, were notwithstanding enforced by spiritual censures and prosecutions for heresy. This address was sent by Henry to the convocation, and was followed by a requisition that the clergy should promise never more to enact, publish, or enforce their constitutions without the royal authority or assent; and that they should submit all those now in force to the consideration of a committee of thirty-two members, half laymen and half clergymen, to be chosen by the king, and to have the power of determining what constitutions ought to be abolished, and what ought to be retained. Though Gardiner com-

April 12.

May 10.

[1] Rolls, ccxxxiv. Stat. of Realm, iii. 385—7.

posed an eloquent answer to the address; though the clergy maintained that they had received from Christ authority to make such laws as were necessary for the government of their flocks in faith and morals, an authority admitted by all Christian princes, founded in Scripture, and "defended with "most vehement and expugnable reasons and au- "thorities by his majesty himself in his most excel- "lent book against Luther;" though they consented to promise that in consideration of his zeal and wisdom they would never make any new constitutions during his reign without his assent, and were willing to submit the consideration of the old constitutions to the judgment of his grace alone, the king was inexorable; and after many discussions, a form of submission, which he consented to accept, was carried by large majorities. The clause limiting the promise to the duration of the present reign was rejected, but the king was added to the committee, and the assent of the clergy was said to be grounded on their knowledge of his superior learning and piety.[1]

May 15.

These proceedings, so hostile to the authority of the clergy and the interests of the pontiff, were immediately communicated to Carne at Rome. He had demanded to be admitted as excusator, and was opposed by the imperialists; the arguments of counsel were heard on both sides; and Clement, having spun out the discussion for some months, pronounced against the claim, and summoned the king to proceed with the cause in November. When the day came, Carne protested against the summons; but the pontiff

July 13.

[1] Hence I have no doubt that they meant to contend afterwards that it was a personal grant, limited to him, and not inheritable by his successors.—Wilk. Con. iii. 748, et seq.

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rejected the protest, and requested Henry to appear by his attorney; in which case delegates might be appointed to take informations in England, though the final judgment must be reserved to the Roman see. At the same time he signed a breve, complaining that, in defiance of public decency, the king continued to cohabit with his mistress, declaring both of them excommunicated, unless they should separate within a month after the receipt of the present letter; and, in case they should presume to marry, pronouncing such marriage invalid, and confirming his former prohibition against it.[1] It seems, however, that for some reason, which is unknown, the publication of this breve was suspended.

During the summer, Henry had renewed his former treaties with France, and, in addition, had concluded a defensive alliance against any subsequent aggression on the part of the emperor.[2] He had frequently solicited an interview with Francis; he now repeated his request in so urgent a manner, that the French king, though with considerable reluctance, acquiesced. But Anne Boleyn also sought to be of the party; and the ambassador was secretly employed to procure for her an invitation from Francis, who on his part might be accompanied by the queen of Navarre. Whether he succeeded is very uncertain;[3] at the appointed time

[1] Burnet, i. Records, ii. 111—119. Le Grand, i. 228—230; iii. 558—568. [2] Rym. xiv. 434.

[3] Le Grand, iii. 562. In this letter the bishop of Bayonne details the high favour in which he is with Henry and Anne. The former spends several hours with him every day, and discloses to him all his secrets. He accompanies the other on all hunting parties; has received from her a present of a greyhound, a horn, and a hunter's jacket and cap; and the king always selects for them a proper station, from which with their cross-bows they shoot the deer as they run by. He does not say that the request to be present at the

the two kings repaired, the one to Calais, the other to Boulogne. As Henry had requested the meeting, he paid the first visit; and at the end of four days Francis returned with him to Calais, where he remained the same time. On the Sunday evening, after supper, the door was suddenly thrown open; twelve persons in masks and female dresses entered the room, and each singled out a gentleman to dance. Henry after some time took off the visors of the maskers, and it appeared that Francis had danced with Anne Boleyn. He conversed with her for some minutes apart, and the next morning sent her as a present a jewel valued at fifteen thousand crowns.[1]

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Curiosity was alive to discover the object of this meeting; but, while the royal attendants were amused with reports of a confederacy against the Turks, the two princes communicated to each other in secret the real or imaginary wrongs which they had suffered from the pontiff, and concerted measures to confine within narrower limits the pretensions of the Holy See. But they came to the discussion with far different feelings. The irritation of Henry sought to set at defiance the papal authority, provided he could secure the co-operation of his ally; Francis affected an equal parade of resentment, but laboured, while he concealed his object, to effect a reconciliation between his friend and the pope. When the king of England proposed

meeting was made by Anne, but intimates as much by adding that he is under oath not to reveal the quarter from which it comes. Henry wished both monarchs to be on a footing of equality, and desired that, if he brought Anne, Francis should bring the queen of Navarre; for he would not meet the queen of France, the emperor's sister. Il hait cet habillement à l'Espaignolle, tant qu'il luy semble veoir un diable, (p. 556). Francis, however, did not comply with his whim, and was not accompanied by any lady.

[1] Hall, 106—109. Le Grand, i. 231.

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a general council, so many difficulties were objected, such a succession of delays, remonstrances, and discussions was anticipated, that he reluctantly acquiesced in the more temperate advice of the French king, to invite Clement to meet the two monarchs at Marseilles, where they might settle their existing differences in an amicable manner. Henry promised that he would attend in person, or by the first nobleman in his realm; and that in the interval he would abstain from every act which might tend to widen the breach between himself and the pope; and Francis despatched to Rome the cardinals of Grandmont and Tournon to arrange the preliminaries of the meeting, wrote a letter to Clement protesting against the insult which he had offered to all crowned heads, by citing the king of England out of his dominions, and insisted that the cause ought to be heard and decided on the spot by delegates fully authorized to determine without appeal or procrastination. The monarchs separated with professions of mutual esteem, and assurances of the most lasting attachment.[1]

Oct. 13.

[1] Le Grand, i. 233, 234; iii. 575.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A, p. 184.

The Historie of the arrivall, &c.

The contemporary tract, which is mentioned in this note as contained among the Harleian MSS. (543), has lately been printed for the Camden Society, under the eye of Mr. Bruce. It bears the title of "Historie of the arrivall of Edward IV. in England, and the finall "recouvery of his kingdomes, A. D. MCCCCLXXI." It was apparently written immediately after the death of Henry VI., as it ends with the events of the 26th of May; and, we have reason to believe, by the order of Edward himself; for on the 29th of the same month that prince sent to his foreign friends at Bruges (and probably at other places on the continent) a messenger with an account of his success; which account appears to have been this very "Historie," if we may judge from the abridgment of it still preserved with the copy of the king's letter in the public library at Ghent.—See Introduction, vi. vii. Hence it will follow, that this tract must be of high authority with respect to dates, and places, and the succession of events, but that it must be also liable to great suspicion on those particular points in which the character of the king is deeply concerned. We cannot expect that he should proclaim himself a perjurer and murderer; and therefore are not to be surprised, if we find in it no mention of the oath which he is said to have taken at York, or of the part which he is believed to have acted at the death of Edward, the Lancastrian prince of Wales, and with respect to that of the old king, Henry VI.

If we may believe Fabyan (660) and Polydore (517), at York Edward protested upon oath that he had no other object in view than the recovery of his rightful inheritance, as son of the late duke of York. Of this oath there is no trace in "the Historie," but it records his "determination that he and all those of his felowshipe "shuld noyse and say openly, where so evar they came, that his "entent and purpos was only to claime to be duke of Yorke, and "to have and enjoy th' enheritaunce that he was borne unto by the "right of the full noble prince his fathar, and none other" (p. 4) At three miles from York the recorder met him, "and tolde him that

"it was not good for him to come to the citie, for eyther he shuld "not be suffred to enter, or els, in caas he enteryd, he was lost and "undone with all his" (p. 5). "Within a while Robart Clifford "and Richard Burghe gave him and his feloshipe bettar comfort, "affirmyng that in the qwarel aforesayde of his father the duke of "Yorke, he shuld be receyvyd and sufferyd to passe."—Ibid. At length he arrived at the gates of the city, and, whilst his army remained without, was suffered to enter "with xvi or xvii persons in "the leading of the sayde Clifford and Richard Burghe, and came to "the worshipfull folks which were assembled a little within the "gates, and shewed them th' entent and purpos of his coming in "such form and with such maner langage that the people contentyd "them therwithe, and so receyvyd him and all his felawshipe."—Ibid. The next day he left the city. It appears to me that this very narrative, in other points confirmative of Polydore's narrative, is also confirmative of it in this, that, to content the worshipful folks of York, Edward was compelled to take the oath before mentioned.

At the battle of Tewkesbury Edward was opposed to that portion of the Lancastrian force which was commanded by Prince Edward. He put the young man and his followers to flight, and pursued the fugitives with great ardour. "In the wynnynge of the fielde such "as abode hand-stroks were slayne incontinent, Edward, called "prince, was taken fleinge to the towne wards, and slayne in the "fielde" (30). Hence it appears that the young prince did not abide hand-strokes, but was taken in his flight, and then slain. But by whose orders? "The Historie" is silent. The chroniclers tell us that the captors took him to Edward, who asked him questions, and that he was then slain in his presence by his brothers, or their attendants. That he was taken to Edward is highly probable, for, as the king was in their company, the captor would of course present their prize to him; and the authors of the murder are significantly intimated by the best authority, the Croyland continuator. Interfectis de parte reginæ tum in campo tum postea, *ultricibus quorumdam manibus* ipso principe Edwardo, unigenito regis Henrici, victo duce Somersetiæ comiteque Devoniæ, ac aliis dominis omnibus et singulis memoratis.—Cont. Croyl. 555. Of the persons here mentioned, the only one slain in the field, in campo, was prince Edward, all the others were captives; the only one slain ultricibus quorumdam manibus was Prince Edward, for the others suffered by the hand of the executioner after judgment in the court of the lord high constable and the earl marshal. The *vengeful* persons, who embrued their hands in his blood, must have been some of the royal brothers.

NOTE B, p. 237.

In perusing the petition presented to the protector at Baynard's Castle, the attention of the reader will probably have been drawn to the alleged precontract of marriage between Edward and Eleanor Boteler. I shall make a few observations on the subject in the present note.

1. It was now eighteen years since the marriage of the king with Elizabeth Grey. The validity of that marriage had never yet been disputed. The children by it had been considered as legitimate by the parliament, the nation, and foreign sovereigns. They were acknowledged heirs to their father, and several of them had been contracted to princes of the first houses in Europe.

2. If any marriage had previously taken place, which would have annulled the succeeding marriage, would it not have been discovered and objected by those who opposed the union of the king with Elizabeth Grey; by the numerous and violent enemies of that princess and her family; and by Clarence and Warwick during their rebellion, when no one had any reason to fear the resentment of Edward? If *they* had heard of it, and yet did not allege it, the very circumstance is a proof that they knew the report to be groundless.

3. The time when it was at last brought forward furnishes a strong presumption against it. It was not till both the parties concerned were laid in their graves, almost twenty years after it was supposed to have taken place, and for the avowed purpose of enabling an uncle to disinherit his nephews.

4. There is no proof that witnesses were ever examined, or that any documents were produced to show the existence of the precontract in question, though it so much concerned Richard for his own security to place it beyond the reach of doubt. The only authority on which it rests is the assertion in the petition presented to the protector at Baynard's Castle, an authority which will have little weight with the impartial reader. That petition was said to have been composed and forwarded to London by the gentlemen in the north; but every one knew that it was written in that city by Dr. Stillington, bishop of Bath, and president of Richard's council.—Cont. Croyl. 567. Le Evesque de B. fist le bill.—Year-book, Hilary term, 1 Hen. VII. Rym. xii. 189. If it be said that it was approved by Richard's parliament in 1484 (Rot. Parl. vi. 240); it may be replied that the next year it was condemned by another parliament "for the false and seditious imaginations and untruths thereof" (ibid. 289), and pronounced by the judges false, slanderous, and shameful.—Year-book, ibid. The only contemporary by whom it is mentioned treats it with little ceremony as seditious and infamous.—Cont. Croyl. 567.

5. Though no ancient historian has written in favour of the alleged precontract, it has been warmly maintained by two modern writers, Walpole in his Historic Doubts, and Laing in a dissertation

at the close of Henry's History of England. I shall briefly notice the four arguments which they have adduced.

6. More informs us that after Edward "had between them twain "ensured Elizabeth," he communicated the matter to his council that his mother, to prevent the marriage, objected that he "was sure "to Dame Elizabeth Lucy, and her husband before God;" that Lucy was sent for and examined upon oath; and that, "albeit she was by "the king's mother and many other put in good comfort to affirm "that she was ensured unto the king, yet when she was solemnly "sworn to say the truth, she confessed that they were never ensured; "howbeit his grace spoke so loving words unto her, that she verily "hoped he would have married her."—More, 59, 60. It is difficult to reconcile this story, as it is told by More, with the account of Edward's marriage with Elizabeth Grey, as it is given by all other writers. According to them it was clandestine, according to him it was publicly solemnized. But what is there in it to favour the pre-contract of marriage with Eleanor Boteler? Laing supposes that More has wilfully substituted Elizabeth Lucy for Eleanor Boteler, that the objection of the king's mother was good, and that the lady was compelled by Edward to give false evidence as to the contract between them. But if such suppositions are to be admitted, merely because they are convenient for the purpose of the writer, there is an end to all faith in history.

7. We are then led to the testimony of Commines, who informs us that Stillington had been formerly in favour with Edward, had incurred his displeasure, been imprisoned, and paid a large sum for his liberty. This prelate, if we may believe him, declared to Richard that Edward had formerly contracted marriage with a certain lady in his presence, that the contract was meant only to deceive her, and that he had concealed its existence for twenty years. He adds, that, to reward him, Richard promised to give the princess Elizabeth, now considered as a bastard, to an illegitimate son of the bishop; but the young man was cast on the coast of Normandy, carried to the châtelet at Paris, and by some mistake starved to death.—Com. lvi. c. ix. Those who have perused the foreign writers of these ages know how little they are to be credited when they write of English affairs; but admitting the whole of this account, it will go but a short way towards the proof of the marriage. We knew before that Stillington composed the petition; we now know that he also suggested its contents. Whether those contents were true or false, Commines does not hazard a conjecture. Laing supposes that Edward imprisoned the bishop, to extort from him the contract, or to punish him for disclosing the secret. But neither hypothesis can stand. The historian assures us that Stillington kept the secret till Edward's death; and the idea of extorting from him the contract arises from a mistake as to the meaning of the words, "avoit faits la "promesse entre les mains du dit évesque;" which allude to the manner in which such verbal promises were received, not to any written contract deposited in the hands of the bishop, as Laing trans-

lates it. The true reason of Stillington's disgrace (we have no knowledge of his imprisonment) may be found in Rymer, xii. 66. Soon after the attainder of Clarence, he was accused of having violated his oath of allegiance, probably by having associated with Clarence. He repaired to a great council of lords and prelates, proved his innocence to their satisfaction, was declared a loyal subject, and afterwards employed in several offices of great trust and importance.

8. Sir Thomas More's history terminates abruptly in the midst of a conversation between the duke of Buckingham and the bishop of Ely. Hall continues that conversation, without informing us where he obtained it; and makes the duke say, "Richard brought in" (to the lords forming his privy council) "instruments, authentic "doctors, proctors, notaries of the law, with depositions of divers "witnesses, testifying Edward's children to be bastards; which de-"positions I then thought to be as true as now I know them to be "false and feigned, and testified by witnesses with rewards untruly "suborned."—Hall, f. 33. Hence Laing argues that proof of the precontract was produced to the council. But it may be replied, that these depositions were never judicially examined; that they are pronounced false, and purchased with money by the very authority here cited; and lastly, that the whole speech is a mere fiction. For the duke is made to say, that Richard refused to restore to him the Hereford estate of which he had been deprived by Edward, though the truth is that Richard actually restored it to him (Dugd. Bar. i. 168, 169; ii. 248); and if we may believe More himself, did not uncourteously refuse any one of his petitions.—More, 70.

9. When Henry VII. had married Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward, the act which bastardized the children of that prince was repealed. It had been customary on such occasions to rehearse the whole of the act, or to particularize its object, both of which were now by the advice of the judges omitted, and in their place the first words were inserted as sufficient to point out what individual act was repealed. A motion at the same time was made to call Stillington before the parliament, but was opposed by the king. Hence Laing infers that Henry was satisfied the legitimacy of his wife would not bear investigation. But a complete answer may be given. The judges declared that their object was to prevent so false and shameful a calumny from appearing on the Rolls of parliament (Year-book, Hilary term, 1 Henry VII.); and the king replied, that as he had already granted a pardon to Stillington, he could not prosecute him for the offence.—More, 73.

10. On the whole, it appears to me evident that Elizabeth was the real wife of Edward, and that the precontract was a fiction invented to justify Richard's usurpation.

NOTE C, p. 243.

I purpose in this note to examine the arguments which have been employed to clear the memory of Richard from the imputation of having murdered his nephews.

1. It would be difficult to name a writer more deserving of credit thanthe Croyland historian, who composed his narrative in the month of April following the death of Richard. He tells us that a widely extended confederacy had been formed to liberate the two princes from the Tower, and that the rising was on the point of taking place, when it was made public that both of them had perished.—Cont. Croyl. 568. It has been said that this was a mere report raised by the conspirators themselves, and that the writer gives no opinion as to its truth. But, 1. It could not have been raised by the conspirators, because it compelled them to defer their intended insurrection, and to look out for some other chief.—Ibid. And, 2. The writer proceeds with his narrative as if he believed the princes to be dead, and makes use of expressions which he would not have used if he had entertained any doubt of their murder. He says that it is not known by what particular kind of *violent* death they perished (quo genere violenti interitus ignoratur, ibid.); that their cause had been avenged in the battle of Bosworth Field (quorum causa hoc bello potissime vindicata est, p. 575); and that Richard, not content with obtaining the treasures of Edward, destroyed his children. Amplo divitiarum Edwardi cumulo non contentus, oppressit proles. —Ibid. I conceive that after the use of such expressions there can remain no doubt of the opinion entertained by that writer.

2. The same conviction appears to have been common to all those persons who were the most interested in ascertaining the truth. 1. The duke of Buckingham and the gentlemen of the southern counties, after the publication of the death of the princes, saw that there was no safety for themselves, unless they could raise up a new competitor for the throne, and therefore offered it to the earl of Richmond, on condition he would marry the princess Elizabeth, the next heir of the family of York.—Cont. Croyl. 568. Can we believe that they would have acted in this manner on the credit of a mere report, the truth of which at that moment they would naturally suspect? Must they not have inquired into the matter; and have been convinced that the young Edward and his brother were dead, before they would offer the crown to an illegitimate branch of a rival family?——2. Richard, to defeat the plan, made the strongest efforts to prevail on Elizabeth, the widow of Edward, to quit the sanctuary with her daughters; but he did not succeed till he had sworn before the peers and prelates, mayor and aldermen, that the lives of these daughters should be in no danger. Why did Elizabeth require such an oath? Undoubtedly she believed that the king had already destroyed her sons, and feared a similar fate for her daughters.

—Buck. p. 528.——3. Richard, even before his wife died, proposed to marry the princess Elizabeth. And the reason was, because he saw that he could not otherwise secure the throne to himself, or cut off the hopes of his rival (Non aliter videbat regnum sibi confirmari, neque spem competitoris sui auferri posse).—Cont. Croyl. 572. This could only be true in case that the princes were dead, and that Elizabeth was the heir to the crown.

3. Rouse, who died in 1491, openly asserts that the princes were slain, but so privately that few knew in what manner. Edwardum cum amplexibus et osculis recepit, et infra circiter duo menses vel parum ultra cum fratre suo interfecit——ita quod ex post paucissimis notum fuit qua morte martyrizati sunt—Ross, 214, 215.

4. André, the contemporary historiographer of Henry VII., says that Richard ordered the princes to be put to the sword (ferro feriri jussit).—MS. Domit. A. XVIII.

5. Sir Thomas More, who wrote soon after, in 1513, not only asserts that they were murdered, but gives the particulars of the murder from the confession of the assassins themselves. The reader has seen his account in the preceding pages.

6. In July, 1674, in consequence of an order to clear the White Tower from all contiguous buildings, as the workmen were "digging "down the stairs which led from the king's lodgings to the chapel "in the said Tower, about ten feet in the ground, were found the "bones of two striplings in (as it seemed) a wooden chest, which "upon the survey were found proportionable to the ages of the two "brothers, viz. about thirteen and eleven years." On inquiry it was concluded that they were the bones of the murdered princes, and in consequence, after they had been sifted from the rubbish, they were honourably interred in the chapel of Henry VII. in Westminster.—Sanford, 427, 429. This has been considered as a strong confirmation of the murder; since we know of no other two boys who perished in the Tower; and are informed by More that a priest removed their bodies from the place where they had been deposited by the assassins to another spot; and that, as he died soon afterwards, his secret perished with him.—More, 68. From the words of More it may be inferred that ineffectual attempts had been made to discover it.

7. It furnishes a strong presumption in favour of More's narrative, that all the persons mentioned by him as concerned in the murder became objects of the king's bounty. To Greene, the messenger, was given the office of receiver of the lordships of the Isle of Wight and of Porchester Castle; and the numerous grants of money and lands, and lucrative offices to Tyrrel and Brakenbury may be seen in the notes by Strype to Buck's history, in Kennet, i. 551, 552. Nor were the more obscure agents, the actual murderers, Dighton and Forest, neglected by the gratitude of their patron. The first was made bailiff for life of the manor of Aiton in Staffordshire (ibid.); and, as Forest lived but a few months in possession of the office given to him in Barnard Castle, an annuity of five marks

was settled on his widow and his son.—Turner, iii. 491. This coincidence must appear very extraordinary, if we suppose More's account to be fabulous.

8. In opposition to this evidence it has been observed, that even in the days of Henry VIII. it was considered doubtful whether the princes had been murdered or not. I will therefore transcribe the words of More, whence it will appear that such doubts were not very common, nor built on any good foundation. "Whose death "hath nevertheless so far come in question, that some remain yet in "doubt, whether they were in his days destroyed or not. Not for "that only, that Perkin Warbeck, by many folks' malice, and more "folks' folly, so long space abusing the world, was, as well with "princes as the poorer people, reputed and taken for the younger 'of these two, but for that also that all things were in late days so 'covertly demeaned, one thing pretended and another meant, that "there was nothing so plain and openly proved, but that yet for "the common custom of close and covert dealing men had it ever "inwardly suspect, as many well counterfeited jewels make the "true mistrusted .... But I shall rehearse you the dolorous "end of those babes, not after every way that I have heard, but "after that way I have heard so by such men and by such means as "methinketh it were hard but it should be true." He then gives the account, and concludes: "Thus as I have learned of them that "much knew and little cause had to lie, were these two noble "princes privily slain" (pp. 67, 68).

9. It is however contended that More's narrative cannot be true. "A singular," says Laing, "and, for Richard's memory, a provi- "dential concurrence of circumstances enables us to ascertain the "duration, and to trace the particular stages of that progress, in the "course of which the supposed destruction of his nephews was "planned and accomplished. He was at Westminster on Sunday, "the 31st of August, where he ratified the league with the king of "Castile, and at York the 7th of September, the day preceding his "second coronation."—Laing, 420. The writer then tells us that Richard was on Monday at Windsor, on Tuesday at Oxford, on Wednesday at Gloucester, on Thursday at Warwick, on Friday at Nottingham, on Saturday at Pontefract, and on Sunday at York. Now he contends that if More's account be true, Greene, the messenger sent to tamper with Brakenbury, the governor of the Tower, must have left the king on his journey on the Monday or Tuesday, and have returned to Richard at Warwick on Thursday with the account of his failure, and that Tyrrel must have left Warwick on Friday, have committed the murder in the Tower on Friday night or Saturday night, and have reached the king previous to his arrival at York on Sunday: an expedition which it is impossible to believe. Hence it follows that the whole narrative is false.—Laing, 420—423.

Now it must be acknowledged that, if the limits assigned to the progress of Richard by his advocates be correct, it is impossible to

crowd within so short a space all the facts mentioned by More. But are those limits correct? It is certain that he was crowned with his queen at York, on Sunday, the 8th of September (Drake's Eborac. 117, Rouse, 217), after having created his son prince of Wales, in a full assembly of the nobility, the same day.—Rym. xii. 200. Hence he must have arrived at York the day before, and if he left London only on the first, must have performed his long and circuitous journey in seven days. But is it then certain that he was at Westminster on the 31st of August? for on the accuracy of that date depends all the reasoning of the king's advocates. The only proof of it is, that two instruments are to be found in Rymer, dated August 31, teste rege apud Westmonasterium. — Rym. xii. 198, 199. But such instruments prove nothing more than that the chancellor was at Westminster. The king might have been at the distance of three hundred miles. They were said to be issued teste rege, because they were issued from his high court of Chancery. Thus we know that at the death of Edward IV. on the 9th of April, 1483, his son Edward V. was at Ludlow, and did not reach London before the 4th of May following. And yet on the 23rd of April, eleven days before he came near Westminster, thirty-three writs were published in his name, dated at Westminster teste rege.—Rym. xii. 79.[1] Hence it is evident that the writs in question, on which Carte, Walpole, and Laing rest their principal argument, prove nothing as to the presence or absence of Richard on the day on which they are dated.

It is however easy to show that he was on that day in the neighbourhood of York, and that his progress, instead of six days, occupied a whole month. The ancient writers mention that he set out shortly after his coronation on the 6th of July. — Cont. Croyl. 567. Fab. 516. He went from London to Windsor; from Windsor to Oxford. The day of his arrival is not specified; but he received from the university a petition in favour of the bishop of Ely, dated the 4th of August (apud Speed, p. 932), whence it is not improbable that he was there at that time. His next stage was Woodstock, where the people of the country complained to him that his brother had unjustly annexed a large tract of land to the forest of Wichwood; and on inquiry he granted to them a charter of disafforestation. Thence he proceeded to Gloucester; and to honour a city from which he took his title of duke, he appointed there a mayor and sheriffs. The two next stages were Worcester and Warwick. Here he was joined by the queen and the Spanish ambassadors, who came direct from Windsor, and kept his court for a whole week,[2] having with him five bishops, the duke of Albany, four earls,

[1] In former editions I referred to another instance from the reign of Richard II. But Mr. Duffus Hardy (Introduc. to Close Rolls, xv.) has shown that Rymer, on whose authority I relied, had mistaken the real date.

[2] Of this circumstance, so important in the present inquiry, Rouse could not be ignorant, as he lived at the same time at Guy's Cliff, only four miles from Warwick.

five barons, the chief justice of the King's Bench, and other lords and knights, and a great number of noble ladies attending on the queen. He next proceeded to Coventry, then to Leicester, and from Leicester to Nottingham, where he was on the 23rd of August. For we have a letter written there on that day by his private secretary, announcing to the citizens of York his approach to that city, and telling them that "the king's lords and judges were with him, sitting "and determining the complaints of poor folks, with due punition "of offenders against his laws."—Drake, 116. He afterwards stopped at Pontefract, where he appointed a mayor, and thence proceeded to York. — See this progress in Rouse, 216, 217. From York, on the 31st of August, he despatched an order to Piers Courties, keeper of the wardrobe, to send to that city his spurs, banners, coats of arms, &c., which might be wanted against his coronation.—Drake's Eborac. 119; Buck, 527. It is evident, then, that instead of leaving London on Sept. 1st, to be crowned in York Sept. 8th, he was the whole month of August on his journey, and reached York before the day on which he has been supposed to be still in London. It may also be observed that this account agrees with that of More. He despatched Greene when he was on his way to Gloucester, and received Greene's report on his arrival at Warwick. Thence he sent Tyrrel to the Tower, and the murder was committed soon after, probably during the week that he remained at Warwick, which, from the date of his residence at Nottingham, must have been about the middle of August; the time assigned by Rouse, who says, the young king was murdered something more than three months after he had been received and caressed by his uncle, which was on the last day of April.—Rouse, 215.

10. Walpole (pp. 70, 71) transcribes a passage from the roll of parliament of 1484, to prove that Edward V. was alive when that parliament was sitting, and consequently could not have been put to death during Richard's progress to York. But if he had paid more attention to the roll, he would have found that he was copying from the petition presented to the protector at Baynard's Castle, and that the passage in question proved only that Edward was alive at the time when his uncle usurped the throne. — See Rot. Parl. vi. 241.

11. Mr. Bailey, in his History of the Tower (p. 343), notices certain warrants for the delivery of clothing, and the payment of provisions for the use of "the lord bastard, given under our signet "at Westminster the ix day of March, anno secundo:" whence he infers that one of the royal brothers, under the name of the lord bastard, was living a year and a half after the time of their supposed death. But there can be no doubt that the lord bastard mentioned in the warrants was Richard's own son, John of Gloucester, whom he made two days later governor of Calais for life, reserving to himself the exercise of the office till the boy should come of age.—Rym. xii. 265.

12. The last argument I shall mention is taken from Bacon's

History of Henry VII., p. 71. He tell us, that soon after the appearance of Perkin, Tyrrel and Dighton (Forest, the other murderer, was dead) were committed to the Tower, and, as the king gave out, both agreed in the same tale: that nevertheless Henry made no use of their confessions; that Tyrrel was soon afterwards beheaded for other matters of treason, but Dighton, who it seems spake best for the king, was set at liberty, and was the principal means of divulging this tradition. Now, if it were true that Henry examined these persons at the time of Perkin's appearance, and yet did not use their evidence to prove that he was not the duke of York, the omission would certainly justify a suspicion that they did not acknowledge the murder. The real fact is, that they were examined only a short time before the execution of Tyrrel, as Bacon himself says; but that execution did not take place, as he supposes, soon after the appearance of Perkin, but at the distance of ten years, in 1502, for having favoured the escape of the earl of Suffolk.—Rot. Parl. vi. 545. Of course Henry could not employ their confession in any of his declarations against Perkin, which were published long before. This is also plain from Sir Thomas More's history, who wrote a few years afterwards. "Very truth it is, and well known, "that at such time as Sir James Tyrrel was in the Tower for trea- "son committed against King Henry VII., both Dighton and he "were examined, and confessed the murder in manner above "written."—More, 68.

NOTE D, p. 320.

The pretensions of Warbeck offer a problem which has been thought of difficult solution. Was he an impostor, or was he the real duke of York? Our ancient historians have unanimously adopted the former opinion; but their authority has been set aside by some modern writers, who contend that under the dynasty of the Tudors no man would venture to express even a doubt injurious to the cause of the reigning family. If credit be due to Carte, and Walpole, and Laing, Warbeck was the real son of Edward IV., and the rightful heir to the throne.

The arguments most favourable to the claim of this adventurer are drawn from two sources, its admission by foreign princes, and the inability of Henry to discover his real origin as an impostor. 1. He was acknowledged as duke of York by Charles of France, by James of Scotland, and by Margaret of Burgundy. If it be said that the object of Charles was to distress Henry, James at least ought to have been convinced of the real character of Warbeck before he would give to him his kinswoman in marriage; and the conduct of Margaret, who was less liable to be deceived, must prove that he was really her nephew, or that she knowingly promoted an imposture. But in the latter supposition what could be her object?

Her niece was queen of England; the children of that niece were presumptive heirs to the crown. Would she attempt to disinherit her own family, in favour of an obscure and unknown adventurer?

2. Henry with all his arts and intrigues could never form a plausible account of the origin and adventures of Warbeck. The stories circulated with his connivance bear evident marks of uncertainty and falsehood. There were two methods by which he might have successfully detected the imposture. He might have ascertained the death of the princes in the Tower by the apprehension and examination of the reputed assassins; or after the surrender of Warbeck, he might have confronted him with his own queen and her sisters. Their testimony would have decided the question. If then he adopted neither of these measures, it is an argument that he dared not. He must have known that both of the brothers were not put to death by their uncle, and that the younger had escaped, and now claimed the crown. Such are in short the arguments of those who maintain the cause of the adventurer.

To me, however, the arguments against the identity of Warbeck with Richard duke of York, appear greatly to preponderate. 1. From the preceding pages it has been seen that the death of the two princes was believed by all those who were most interested to know the truth, by their mother Elizabeth and their uncle Richard, by the partisans of the house of Lancaster, and those of the house of York, and even by Henry himself, as late at least as the summer of 1487, when he offered to marry their mother to the king of Scots, and their two sisters to his two sons. Four years later a young man appears in Ireland, and professes to be the younger of the two princes, who were believed to be dead. Was it not incumbent on him to prove his pretensions, to show how he had escaped from the murderers, to what place he had been conveyed, and where and how he had spent the eight years which had elapsed since his supposed death? Yet all this was kept a profound secret. Even in his proclamation at the head of the Scottish army, when it was so much for his interest that the English should be convinced of his claim, he contents himself with asserting, "that in his tender age he had "escaped by God's great might out of the Tower of London, had "been secretly conveyed over sea to other divers countries, and had "remained there certain years as unknown." Does not this meagre account, in circumstances when the clearest proofs were required, betray a secret consciousness that his history would not bear investigation?

3. His assertions seem to have been generally disbelieved by the nation. The persons who adhered to him in France were most, if not all, of them outlaws; and the gentlemen who were attainted on his account in England seem to have suffered, not so much for having admitted his pretensions, as for their attempts to ascertain who he was, which Henry ascribed to a treasonable disaffection towards himself. After that period no person of note attached himself to

the pretender. When he landed on the coast of Kent, he was immediately repulsed; when he entered England successively at the head of a Scottish army, and was in a condition to protect his friends, not an individual repaired to his standard; and when he afterwards assumed the command of the Cornish insurgents, he did not debauch a single gentleman from his allegiance to Henry. It is not credible that the numerous partisans of the house of York would have remained quiet on all these occasions, unless they had reason to believe him an impostor.

4. This is strongly corroborated by the conduct of Henry. Would his jealousy have spared the real duke of York, when he had him once in his power? Would he have exhibited him to the gaze of the populace on the road, or of the citizens in London, of whom many could have recognized his features? Would he have suffered him to roam at liberty through the palace at Westminster for six months, exposed to the daily view of the queen, her sisters, and the principal nobility? After his flight and recapture, would not the king have gladly employed that plausible pretext to free himself from so dangerous a competitor? Whoever compares his conduct to the earl of Warwick with his conduct to Warbeck, will be convinced that as he knew the former to be a real Plantagenet, so he believed the latter to be no other than an impostor.

5. But how are we to account for the acknowledgment of his claim by foreign powers? It may be observed that, if the union of the two roses by the marriage of Henry and Elizabeth had satisfied many of the Yorkists, there still existed a party, which, through enmity to the house of Lancaster, sought to raise to the throne the young earl of Warwick. At its head was the duchess of Burgundy. She first patronised the imposture of Simnel, afterwards that of Warbeck. If either had succeeded, there would have been little difficulty in removing the phantom to make place for the reality. The conduct of Charles VIII. proves nothing more than his wish to distress and intimidate Henry. He had previously attempted to raise the friends of Warwick; when that failed, Warbeck, probably at his instigation, solicited the aid of the Yorkists in Ireland; and on their refusal, was invited to the French court as heir to the English crown. But the event proved that this invitation had no other object than to induce Henry to sign the treaty. From the moment that was accomplished, Perkin received no countenance from the king of France. With respect to the king of Scotland, there seems to have been much also of policy in the reception which he gave to the adventurer. It was argued that if Perkin were successful, he could refuse nothing to the prince who had placed him on the throne; that if he were not, Henry would still make advantageous offers to James, to detach him from the cause of his rival. On this account, says Polydore, the king, whether it were through error and pity, or only through dissimulation, began to show him great honour, &c. (p. 590).

The consideration of these circumstances has left no doubt on my mind that Warbeck was an impostor. He was probably brought forward to screen the young earl of Warwick from the jealousy of Henry. If he fell in the attempt, Warwick was still safe; if he succeeded, the disclosure of the secret would raise that young prince to the throne. This at least is certain, that as long as Warwick lived, pretenders to the crown rapidly succeeded each other; after his execution, Henry was permitted to reign without molestation.

NOTE E, p. 473.

Peter Martyr, in a letter dated May 2, 1510, says that Ferdinand expected to hear every day of the birth of a grandchild, because by the last account from England, Catherine was in her ninth month—partui proximam esse, quia nono gravetur mense. Yet the English historians consider Henry, born in January, 1511, as her first child. That prince lived only six weeks. Catherine bore the king another son in November, 1513, who also died in a short time. Mary was born in 1515, February 8th. Her sponsors at baptism were the cardinal of York, the lady Catherine, daughter of Edward IV., and the duchess of Norfolk. Her style was proclaimed at the church door by the officers of arms: God give good life and long unto the right high, right noble, and right excellent princess Mary, princess of England, and daughter of our sovereign lord the king.—Sanford, 499.

NOTE F, p. 485.

We have two versions of this story; one by the king, the other by the cardinal.

1. In 1529, Henry took occasion, in presence of his council, of several peers, and of the lord mayor and aldermen, to explain, "le "scrupule de conscience ou de long tems il s'est trouvé de l'affaire "susdite, qui terriblement luy a augmenté depuis qu'un eveque "Francois, grant personnage et scavant homme (signifiant M. de "Tarbes), estant pour lors ambassadeur deczá, en avoit tenu en son "conseil termes terriblement expres."—Lettres de l'évêque de Bayonne, 218. According to this account, the bishop of Tarbes did not in fact raise, but augment the king's doubt. That doubt had existed long before.

2. Wolsey, in a letter to the king, relates the manner in which he opened the matter of the divorce to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Rochester, as he passed through Kent on his embassy to France. He told them, that during the conferences respecting the marriage of Francis with the lady Mary, he had asked

whether that king was free from his pre-contract with Leonora of Portugal; that the bishop of Tarbes in return wrote to him from his lodging, to inquire if Henry's marriage with Catherine was a lawful marriage; and that the dispensation was shown to Tarbes, who doubted its sufficiency; whereupon the question was by mutual consent "put over till his (the cardinal's) coming into France.'—St. Pap. i. 199. The two stories certainly do not harmonize with each other.

3. It is worthy of notice that in his long and confidential despatch, in which Wolsey details to Henry his conversation with the two prelates, not a word, not an allusion, escapes from him, to intimate that he told them the truth; on the contrary, he seems to hint that the tale had been got up between the king and himself, to furnish a suitable introduction to the subject, without exciting any suspicion that the doubt had originated with the king or the cardinal. For he says, "I declared the hol matter at length, *as was devised with your* "*Highness* at Yorke Place."—Ibid. 200.

4. But we have much stronger though negative evidence. The instructions, the despatches, and the journal of the French ambassadors are still extant among the MSS. de Brienne, and in the collection Fontamert. In these papers we find notice of the question put by the cardinal, and of the answer by the ambassadors, that the contract with Leonora was not binding, being made when Francis was in prison and not his own master; that he had previously protested against its validity, and that he had since been released from it by the act of the emperor, who, instead of sending Leonora to France, according to the treaty, "auroit refusé le faire, et ainsi con- "travenu audict traité." If, in addition, they had called in question the validity of Henry's marriage and the legitimacy of his daughter had disputed the sufficiency of the dispensation, and had agreed that this matter should be fully investigated on the arrival of the cardinal in France, would not this also have been entered on their papers? Yet there is no trace of any such thing there, no reference to it. "Je ne trouve," says Le Grand, "rien de cela ny dans le journal "que nous avons de cette ambassade, ny dans les lettres de Messieurs "de Turenne et de Tarbes que j'ai lues."—Le Grand, i. 49. Not content with his testimony, I have, on two occasions, employed friends to examine these MSS., who assure me that the assertion of Le Grand is perfectly correct.

5. Wolsey said that the question was left for discussion till his arrival in France. Now we have the instructions given to him (St. Pap. i. 191), and a multitude of letters from him, detailing the whole progress of the negotiation (ibid. 196—281); yet neither in one nor the other is there any mention of the matter.

Hence it is clear to me that the whole story is a fiction, got up to enable the cardinal to break the subject to the two prelates and to draw from them the expression of their opinion, under the pretext that he would be compelled in a few days to discuss it with the French ministers.

NOTE G, p. 487.

The following abstract of the reasoning on both sides of the question may not be unacceptable to the reader. It is taken from Du Pin, Cent. xvi. lib. ii. p. 140.

"Those on the king's party alleged; 1. That the laws of Moses which concerned marriage, were not intended for the Jews exclusively, but were for all times and all nations; that they were grounded upon natural decency; that God calls the breaches of those laws wickedness and abominations, and threatens the most severe punishments to such as will not observe them; and that the prohibition to marry the brother's wife was not less strict than that of marrying within the degrees of consanguinity and affinity set down in Leviticus.

"2. That that law was never repealed nor explained by Jesus Christ or his apostles.

"3. But that, on the contrary, St. John the Baptist had sharply reproved Herod for marrying his brother's wife.

"4. That the first Christians always accounted the laws of Leviticus to be inviolable; that Tertullian, Origen, St. Basil, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and Hesychius, severely condemned the marriage of a man with his brother's wife, and affirmed that this prohibition was not particular to the Jews, but general to all mankind; that the council of Neocæsarea excommunicated every man who married his wife's sister, and the woman that should marry two brothers, and the same canon was confirmed by the council held under Gregory II.; that in all the councils that have taken notice of the degrees of affinity within which it is unlawful to contract marriage, this of the brother and sister-in-law is put among them; that the pope St. Gregory, being consulted by Augustine the monk, whom he sent into England, whether it was lawful for a man to marry his brother's widow, answered, that this sort of marriages was forbidden, and if any persons who were lately converted had contracted any such before their conversion, they ought to be advised not to associate with their wives; and that there never was a more favourable occasion to dispense with such marriages than this, if the Church had the power."

On the other hand, the writers of the queen's party maintained;

"That the prohibition in Leviticus, to marry a brother's wife, was not a law of nature, but only a positive law; which Moses had sufficiently shown by commanding in Deuteronomy the brother to marry his brother's widow, when the latter died without children, demonstrating by this exception, that the law admitted of dispensation, and consequently was not a law of nature; that before Moses that law was of no force, because Jacob married Leah and Rachel, two sisters; and Judah, after he had married two of his sons to Tamar, promised her the third.

"2. That in the New Testament Jesus Christ approved of the exception in Deuteronomy, in answer to the Sadducees, who had proposed that law to him.

"3. That St. John the Baptist reproved Herod for marrying his brother's wife, either because his brother was yet living, or because, if he was dead, he had left children.

"4. That the fathers always looked upon the law of Deuteronomy as an exception to that of Leviticus; that in the ancient apostolic canons, he that married two sisters, one after another, was only put out of the clergy; and in the council of Elvira, only three years' penance was imposed upon the parties; that the ecclesiastical and civil laws, which forbid these marriages, forbid also marriages within the degrees of consanguinity; that there is not certainly any prohibition of such marriages by the law of nature; that the popes who condemned these marriages, did not deprive themselves of the power of dispensing in some cases, though they did seldom do it; and that there are examples of marriages made within the degrees forbidden in Leviticus, which have been always looked upon as lawful marriages."

To me two things appear evident; 1. That the law in Leviticus was not in its own nature so binding as never to admit of dispensation; because such dispensation is allowed in Deuteronomy: 2. That Moses published both the law and the exception to it for the use of the Jews. Whether both or either were to be extended to other nations, is a question on which the Scripture is silent.

NOTE H, I, pp. 490, 495.

It was reported at the time (Polid. xvii. 84; Hall, 728; Singer's Cavendish, 182), that the great object of this embassy was to offer in the king's name marriage to a French princess; according to some, to Margaret, duchess of Alençon and sister of Francis; according to others, to his sister-in-law, Renée, daughter of the late king, Louis XII. We are even told that Margaret refused, on the ground that the consequence would be wretchedness and death to Catherine; and that the proposal was made to Renée at Compeigne, but, for reasons with which we are unacquainted, did not take effect. These stories, though frequently repeated by succeeding writers, are undoubtedly fictions, both as far as regards Margaret, for she was married to the King of Navarre on the 24th of Jan. 1527, five months before Wolsey set out on the embassy; and also with respect to Renée: for not only is there no allusion to any marriage with her in Wolsey's instructions or in his despatches from France, though she is there repeatedly mentioned in company with the other ladies of the court, but no proposal could be made to her, as long as it did not suit the policy of Henry and his minister to make an open

declaration of the king's intention to obtain a divorce from Catherine,—for such declaration must have preceded any proposal of marriage. Now, as has been already shown, nothing more than an obscure and ambiguous hint of Henry's design was given, and that only at the cardinal's departure from Compeigne on his return home.

It may have been that, as Polydore asserts (p. 82), Wolsey, when the question of the divorce was first mentioned, suggested the benefit which would arise from a union with Margaret, and that, after her marriage with the king of Navarre, he substitued in his own mind Renée in her place; but that the king or the cardinal should actually propose such marriage to either of those ladies, before a single step had been taken to procure a divorce from Catherine, or any intention had been avowed of taking such step, is an inconsistency of which neither could have been guilty.

NOTE K, p. 526.

The proceedings before the legates in the cause of the divorce have been extracted from the register, and published by Herbert (261—282), and more briefly by Burnet (iii. 46).

I. The evidence in proof of the consummation of the marriage between Arthur and Catherine amounts to this: that the prince was fifteen years old; that he slept two or three nights in the same bed with the princess; and that on two occasions he made indelicate allusions to that circumstance. As Catherine declined the jurisdiction of the court, we are ignorant what answer her council might have given. But we know that one of the witnesses examined before the legates, the bishop of Ely, declared that the queen had often denied the consummation to him sub testimonio conscientiæ suæ; that she also denied it upon oath in her appeal to the pontiff; that at the trial she put it to the king himself, whether she were not a virgin when she came to his bed; and that Cardinal Pole also reminded Henry of a conversation, in which he had acknowledged the same to the emperor, when that prince was in England.—Poli Defensio Unit. Eccl. fol. lxxvii.

Bacon (p. 117) asserts that Henry did not take the title of prince of Wales for some months after the death of his brother, because it was possible that the princess might be pregnant. If the fact were so, or if any advantage could have been derived from it, it would not have been overlooked at the trial.

II. It was contended for the king, that the bull of dispensation was void, because it had been obtained on grounds manifestly false; viz. that Henry and Catherine wished to marry, in order to give, by their marriage, greater stability to the friendship between the crowns of England and Spain. This clause, it was contended, invalidated

the whole instrument; because there was at that time no danger of enmity between the two crowns, and because the prince and princess could not have entertained any such notions as it attributed to them.

But in addition to the bull, Catherine had obtained from Spain the copy of a breve of dispensation, which was so worded as to elude this objection. The king's counsel denied its authenticity. 1. If the breve were not a forgery, why was it not in England? How came it to be in Spain? How happened it that no trace of its existence could be discovered in Rome? 2. It was dated on the same day with the bull, Dec. 26, 1503; a manifest anachronism according to the king's advocates. For if in bulls the year was computed from the 1st of January, in breves it was computed from the 25th of December; so that in reality the breve was dated one whole year before the bull, and even before Julius, who was made to grant the dispensation, had been chosen pope.

What answer was returned by the advocates of Catherine, we know not. Yet, notwithstanding these objections, I am inclined to believe that the breve was genuine. 1. From the attestations of its authenticity given by the archbishop of Toledo, and the papal nuncio, by whom it was examined before the emperor and his council (apud Herb. 264): 2. From the conduct of Henry himself, who acted as if he knew it to be genuine. He had demanded that the original should be sent to him. Charles very prudently refused; but offered to deposit it with the pope, that it might be impartially examined. Henry however, was alarmed. He ordered his agents to decline the offer, and to dissuade Clement from having any concern in the matter (Burnet, i. Records, ii. 66, 73, 74). 3. From the deposition of Bishop Fox, that several dispensations were obtained.—Herb. 274.

But, supposing the breve to be genuine, how are we to account for its existence, and for the alleged error in the date? It appears from a letter of Julius to Henry VII. (apud Herb. 370), that the *bull* was expedited with great haste at the urgent solicitation of Isabella, the mother of Catherine, who, aware of the dangerous state of her health, solicited from the pontiff the consolation of possessing before her death a copy of the dispensation in favour of her daughter. But, if we compare that bull with the treaty of the marriage, we shall find that it does not fulfil the conditions to which the parents of the parties had agreed; that it should be conceived in the most ample form which could be devised, and that it should contain a clause authorizing the union of Catherine with Henry, "though "her previous marriage with Arthur had been contracted in the face of "the church, and afterwards consummated."—Rym. xiii. 80. When it was discovered that the bull omitted this important clause, and was defective in other respects, there can be little doubt that the matter would be represented to the court of Rome, and that a second dispensation, supplying the deficiencies of the first, would be issued in form of a bull or breve. It was usual on such occasions to employ in the last instrument the original date; nor will it excite surprise,

if the clerk, at the moment when he transcribed that date from the first dispensation, did not advert to the circumstance, that in breves the year commenced six days earlier than in bulls.

III. The king's counsel gave in evidence the protest made by the prince, when he was on the point of completing his fourteenth year. What advantage could be derived from it, I do not see. For if it were argued that the protest was a legal revocation of the contract between the parties, it must also have been admitted that the subsequent marriage was a complete ratification of it. If the protest revoked the contract, the marriage revoked the protest. In a word, all that can be collected with any certainty from the evidence given before the legates is, that Arthur, at the age of fifteen, had slept in the same bed with the princess. This was the only conclusion drawn from it, when the proceedings recommenced before the archbishop Cranmer, and was declared by the canonists in the convocation a presumptive proof that the marriage had been consummated.

Before I close this subject, I ought perhaps to notice an extract from one of the Lansdowne manuscripts, containing an assemblage of materials for an ecclesiastical history of England, from 1500 to 1510, by Bishop Kennet. Under 1505 he says, "The king "(Henry VII.) in a declining health began to fall into melancholy "thoughts, and to imagine that the untimely death of his queen, "and the growing weakness of his own constitution, were a sort of "judgment upon him for consenting to the contract made between "Prince Henry and his brother's wife: for which reason he made it "a part of his penitential courses to dissuade his son Henry from "ever perfecting and consummating that match, as the account is "best given by Sir Richard Morysine." After an extract from the Apomaxis Calumniarum by Morysine, he proceeds: "The king for "this purpose sent for the prince to Richmond, and there by his "own influence and the concurrent advice of his wisest counsellor, "Fox, bishop of Winchester, &c., prevailed with him to make a "solemn protestation against the validity of that contract, and a "promise never to make it good by a subsequent matrimony." But this statement is liable to numerous objections. 1. If Henry VII. had ever expressed to his son any doubt respecting the validity of the dispensation, Henry VIII. would certainly have availed himself of it when he determined to divorce Catherine. In his speeches and despatches he often attempts to explain the origin of his scruples, and to defend them, but he never once mentions any doubt or objection made by his father. 2. If he could have proved that the protestation originated from religious motives, he would undoubtedly have done it before the legates. But the evidence before them proves the contrary. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, owned indeed that he did not at first approve of the marriage, and told the king so in the presence of Fox, who advised it; but added that, when the bull of dispensation arrived, he contradicted it no more. In addition, he deposed that, because the said king Henry appeared

not much inclined to the marriage, he entreated him to persuade the prince to protest against it. But on what grounds he advised this protest, he has not told us.—Herb. 271. Fox, however, who is said by Kennet to have advised it on motives of religion, says the contrary. He tells us, that though "the protest was made, it was "the intention of the king that his son should marry the lady "Catherine; but that he deferred the solemnization of this intended "matrimony by reason of some discord which was at that time "betwixt him and the king of Spain, for the calling back of the "dowry."—Herb. 274. 3. That the protest was entirely a political measure is evident from the testimony of Bishop Fox, which I have just mentioned, from the succeeding negotiations in which Henry always expressed his consent to the solemnization of the marriage, provided that the marriage portion were previously paid (see ante, p. 327, et seq.), and from the fact of his having received two payments a little before his death, and not only signed the receipts himself, but compelled his son to sign them. This completely overturns the statement of his regret for having suffered the contract to be made, and of his resolution, during his penitential courses, to prevent its accomplishment. Morysine and Kennet knew of the existence of the protest; the rest was probably invented to account for that existence.

NOTE L, p. 542.

Here I shall present to the reader portraits of Henry, of Queen Catherine, and of Anne Boleyn, drawn at this very time by the Venetian ambassadors in their reports to the senate. Ludovico Falier was resident here from 17th Dec. 1528 till 27th August, 1531. In his Relatione, read in the senate on Nov. 10 of that year, he thus describes the king:—

"His features are, I will not say beautiful; they are angelic. "His look is commanding, but gentle. Contrary to the English "fashion, he wears his beard. Who can look at him, when he is "in action, without astonishment, so surpassing is the beauty of his "person, so winning the ease and gracefulness of his manner. He "sits well on horseback; he is completely master of his steed; "he tilts, and bears his lance nobly; he draws the sword and the "bow admirably, and plays at tennis with extraordinary skill. He "applied to the belles lettres from his childhood, afterwards to the "study of philosophy and theology, so that he has acquired the "name of a learned and accomplished prince. Besides the Latin "and his mother tongue, he learned the Spanish, French, and "Italian languages. He is affable, gracious, very polite and cour-"teous; and liberal in his presents, especially to men of learning. "Yet with all his knowledge and acuteness he allowed himself to

"fall into amorous pursuits so far that, thinking only of his "pleasures, he left the government of his kingdom to his most "trusty ministers, till the time when he began to persecute the "cardinal of York. From that moment he has been quite enam-"oured with his own management, and is become quite another "man. He was generous, is now covetous; and, as formerly no "one took leave of him without a satisfactory present, now every one "goes away in discontent. He appears to be devout. He gene-"rally hears two low masses; and the high mass also on festivals. "He is exceedingly charitable to orphans and widows, to young "maidens, and persons wounded or maimed, to the amount of "about 10,000 ducats a year. He is beloved by all. He is deter-"mined on effecting a divorce. His object is to have legitimate "male issue; and as he has no hope of having such by my lady "Catherine, he will assuredly marry his favourite, a daughter of the "earl of Wiltshire. There cannot be a doubt that such a marriage "will take place; after which it is possible that his majesty may be "troubled with insurrections on the part of those who favour the "queen; for she is so much beloved and revered by the people, "that they already begin to show their discontent.

"My lady the queen is low of stature, inclining to corpulency, a "handsome woman, of great repute, upright, and full of goodness and "devotion. She speaks Spanish, Flemish, French, and English. "She is beloved by these islanders far more than any queen they have "had. She is forty-five years old, thirty of which have passed since "the death of her first husband. By the present king she has had "two sons and a daughter. One of the sons died at the age of six "months. The second lived scarcely long enough to be baptized. "There remains only the daughter, sixteen years old, a beautiful, "kind, and most accomplished princess, not at all inferior to her "mother. He has also a natural son, born of a married woman, "the wife of one of his barons. The young man gives the most "flattering promise; he is so very like to his father."

Falier was succeeded by Carlo Capello, who wrote to the senate on 7th Dec. 1532: "My lady Anne is no beauty. She is tall "of stature, with a sallow complexion, long neck, large mouth, "and narrow chest. In fact she has nothing in her favour besides "the king's great passion for her, and her eyes, which are indeed "black and beautiful."—From the Ragguagli of Mr. Rawdon Brown, iii. 331—335.

NOTE M, p. 548.

That I may not incur the reproach of misrepresentation, I purpose in this note to specify the reasons which have induced me to dispute the value of the answers returned by the universities.

1. Cavendish, an attentive observer, tells us that "such as had "any rule, or had the custody of their university seals, were choked "by the commissioners with notable sums of money."—Cavendish, 417. The first parliament under Queen Mary asserts that the answers of the foreign universities had been obtained by bribes, those of our own by sinister workings, and secret threatenings.—St. 1 Mary, c. 1. Pope Clement in one of his letters observes, that no artifice, no entreaty, no money was spared to obtain a favourable subscription—Nullo non astu, et prece et pretio.—Apud Raynald, xxxii. 230.

2. Of the "secret workings and sinister threatenings" employed in the English universities we have sufficient evidence. In February, 1530, Gardiner and Fox were sent to Cambridge to procure an answer in the affirmative to the following question: Is it prohibited by the divine and natural law for a brother to marry the relict of his deceased brother? Finding the sense of the university against them, they proposed that the matter should be referred to a committee, in which the decision of two-thirds of the members should be taken for the decision of the whole body. The question was twice put and lost; but on a third division, "by the labour of "friends to cause some to depart the house who were against it," it was carried. The committee was accordingly appointed. Of the twenty-nine members sixteen had already promised their votes to the king, and four had given hopes of compliance; "of the which "four," say the commissioners in their letter to Henry, "if we get "two, and obtain of another to be absent, it is sufficient for our "purpose." An affirmative answer was now given. Yet it disappointed the hope of the king, for it embraced a condition which he had excluded from the question,—"if the widow had been car-"nally known by her former husband." Henry complained of this addition; but Dr. Buckmaster, the vice-chancellor, assured him that it was so necessary to admit it, that without such admission they would have been left in a minority.—See Burnet, i. Rec. 85—88; iii. Rec. 20—24.

3. At Oxford the opposition was still more obstinate. It was in vain that the king sent letter after letter, messenger after messenger, to the university. At length recourse was had to the experience and policy of Fox, who was ordered to repair to Oxford, and employ the same expedients there which had proved successful in the sister university. On the 4th of April he obtained a decree, investing a committee of thirty-three persons with full authority to answer the question. Of the thirty-three the bishop of Lincoln, the vice-chancellor, and Dr. Stinton, were appointed by name; their thirty colleagues were left to their choice. Whether two-thirds of these pronounced in favour of the king or not, is rather doubtful. A determination in the affirmative, with the same condition appended to it which had been adopted at Cambridge, was forwarded to Henry; but its opponents denied that it had obtained the consent of the

majority, and affirmed that the seal of the university had been affixed to it clandestinely.—See Wilk. Con. iii. 726; St. Papers, i. 377; Wood, 255; Fiddes, Rec. ii. 83—85; Collier, ii. 52, 53; Burnet, iii. Rec. 25—28.

Cardinal Pole, in his letter to Henry, observes that he found it more difficult to obtain subscriptions at home than abroad; and that he overcame the difficulty with the aid of menacing letters. Nunquam, ubi consisteret, invenisset, nisi eæ, quæ plus quam preces valere solent apud multorum animos, minarum refertæ regiæ literæ ad scholarum principes quasi auxiliatrices copiæ summissæ, aciem jam inclinatum sustinuissent——Omnes omnibus viis tentabas, qui aliqua doctrinæ et literarum opinione essent: cum quibus tamen plus tibi negotii fuit quam cum exteris.—Pol. Defen. fol. lxxvii. lxxviii.

4. The Italian commission consisted of Ghinucci, bishop of Worcester, Gregorio da Casale, Stokesley, and Croke. But Croke seems to have been the most active, and to have employed a number of inferior agents, whose honesty in some instances he suspected. If we may believe him, whenever he failed, it was on account of the threats and promises of the imperialists; if he succeeded, it was not through bribes, for he never gave the subscriber any thing, till he had written his name, and then nothing more than an honourable present. He seems, however, to have trusted much to the influence of these honourable presents; for in his letter to the king, dated July 1st, he says, "Albeit, gracious lord, if that in time I had been "sufficiently furnished with money, albeit I have besides this seal "(which cost me one hundred crowns) procured unto your highness "one hundred and ten subscriptions, yet it had been nothing in "comparison of that that might easily and would have been done." —Burnet, i. Rec. ii. xxxviii.; Strype, i. App. 106.

Stokesley and Croke had sent a favourable answer from the university of Bologna, which Henry prized the more, because Bologna was situated in the papal dominions. This instrument had no date, was signed by Pallavicino, a Carmelite friar, by command, as was pretended, of the university, and was ordered to be kept a profound secret. The secret, however, transpired; Pallavicino and the notary who attended were called before the governor on the 9th of September; and from their confessions it appeared that the instrument was composed by Pallavicino himself, was approved by four other friars, and was signed by the former on the 10th of June. What proceedings followed, we know not; but Croke, to discover who had betrayed the secret, called before him the friars, the notary, and the copiers of the instrument, and examined them upon oath. From their depositions, which, probably for his own justification, he transmitted to England, the preceding particulars are extracted: and when the reader has weighed them, he will be able to judge what right such an instrument can have to be considered as the real answer of the university.—See Rymer, xiv. 393, 395—397.

At Ferrara, Croke applied separately to the faculties of theology and law. The theologians were divided. One party gave an answer in favour of Henry; but the instrument was carried off by their opponents. Croke solicited the interference of the duke of Ferrara; by open force the valuable prize was wrested from the possession of the robbers, and was carefully transmitted to England. But in his negotiation with the civilians and canonists, the agent was less successful. He offered them one hundred crowns, and was told that the sum was not worth their acceptance. Repenting of his parsimony, he offered one hundred and fifty the next morning; but he was then too late, the faculty had resolved not to interfere in so delicate a question. From Padua, however, he sent an answer. How it was obtained, is a secret; but it cost one hundred crowns.—Burnet, i. 91.

5. If in Germany subscriptions could not be obtained, it was not through want of agents or of bribes. The agents were Cranmer, Giovanni da Casale, Andreas, and Previdellus; and that money was promised is plain from the following testimony of Coclæus: Offerebatur mihi his annis superioribus ampla remunerationis et auri spes, si contra matrimonium regis cum Catharina vel ipse scribere, vel universitatum aliquot Germaniæ sententias, quales aliquot Galliæ et Italiæ academiæ dedissent, procurare voluissem.—Cocl. in Scop. apud Sanders, p. 60.

6. There can be little doubt that the same arts were employed in the French universities as with those of Italy. The letters published by Le Grand have exposed the whole intrigue with respect to the university of Paris. The first meeting broke up, after passing a resolution not to deliberate at all on the question. Francis compelled the members to assemble again, and a promise was made to Henry that out of sixty-three voices he should have a majority of fifty-six. On a division it appeared that he had only a minority of twenty-two against thirty-six. The duke of Norfolk wrote to the French cabinet to complain. Assemblies were repeatedly held; and one of these was so artfully managed, that the king obtained fifty-three votes against thirty-seven. The faculty assembled the next day to rescind those proceedings. They were disappointed. The bishop of Senlis had carried away the register; it was impossible to erase the decree; and a resolution was passed forbidding any member to give an opinion in favour of Henry. Francis, irritated by their obstinacy, ordered the president of the parliament to make a judicial inquiry into their conduct; but that minister, better informed than the king, advised him to allow the matter to sleep in silence; for, if all the particulars were made public, the inquiry would prove to the prejudice of Henry. J'ecris audi Seigneur, que l'on la doit faire surseoir, jusqu'à ce que ledit seigneur aura entendu par moy comment l'affaire a été conduite, et que ladite information pourroit par aventure plus nuire audit roy d'Anglet terre que profiter.—Le Grand, iii. 458—491. Du Moulins, ar

unexceptionable witness, says that he had examined the account laid before Francis, from which it was evident that the votes given for Henry had been purchased with English gold, and that the real opinion of the university was against the divorce.—Molin. Not. ad Const Dec. p. 602.

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